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THE  
ORIGINAL,  
AND THE ONLY  
AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
TRIAL  
OF  
**EUGENE ARAM,**  
(LATE A SCHOOL-MASTER AT KNARESBROUGH,)  
FOR  
**THE MURDER**  
OF  
**DANIEL CLARK ;**

With his autobiography, and a particular account of his Studies, and literary attainments; also, several of his Letters, and Poems; and his plan and specimens of an Anglo-Celtic Lexicon.

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A NEW EDITION.

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If ever Murder was entitled to indulgence perhaps it might have been extended not improperly to this Man, (Eugene Aram) whose genius in itself prodigious might have been exerted in works of general utility. He had in spite of all the disadvantages, attending low birth and straightened circumstances, by dint of his own capacity and inclination, made considerable progress in Mathematicks and Philosophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtic Dictionary which had he lived to finish, might have thrown some essential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European History.

SMOLLET'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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Knaresbrough :

PRINTED AND SOLD BY W. LANGDALE.

PRICE ONE SHILLING.

[c. 1832]

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[after 1832]

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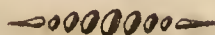
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ARAM, Eugene

THE TRIAL  
OF  
EUGENE ARAM,  
&c.



**D**ANIEL CLARK was born in Knaresbrough, where he lived, and followed the business of a shoe-maker. We shall pass over those things in his life, which do not regard the affair we treat of, and content ourselves with observing, that, in or about the month of January, 1744-5, he married a wife, with a fortune of two hundred pounds or upwards; and, being then in very good credit in Knaresbrough, it is presumed a scheme was laid by Eugene Aram, then a school-master, in that town, Richard Houseman, a flax-dresser, and Henry Terry, an Inn-keeper, to defraud several persons of great quantities of goods and plate; and, that Clark should be the man to carry these schemes into execution; for, as he then lived in very good credit, and was lately married, he was the properest person for the intended purpose. Accordingly,



Clark, for some few days, went to several persons in and about Knaresbrough, and took up great quantities of linen and woollen-drapery goods, under pretence that, as he was lately married, he wanted not only clothes to appear in on the occasion, but also table and bed-linen; in which, he succeeded so well, that he got goods of that kind to a considerable amount. After this, he went to several inn-keepers and others, desiring to borrow a silver tankard of one, a pint of another, and the like, alledging that he was to have company that night, and should be glad of the use of them at supper: and, in order to give a good colour to this his story, he got of the inn-keepers (of whom he so borrowed the plate) ale, and other sorts of liquors.\* This was on thursday, the 7th of February, 1744-5.

Some suspicious circumstances appearing that night and the following morning, caused a rumour in the town, that Clark was gone off; and, upon inquiry, it could not be learnt what was become of him. Search was immediately made for the goods and plate he had got, when some part of the good were found at Houseman's, and another part thereof, as some velvets, &c. were dug up in Aram's garden; but, as no plate was found, it was then

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\* Among other goods, he got the following, viz. three silver tankards, four silver pints; one silver milk pot; one ring set with an emerald, and two brilliant diamonds; another with three rose diamonds; a third with an amethyst in the shape of a heart, and six plain rings; eight watches; two snuff boxes; Chambers' Dictionary, 2 vols. folio; Pope's Homer, 6 vols. bound

concluded that Clark was gone off with that. Upon which the strictest inquiry was made after him, by sending people out into several parts, and advertising him in the public papers, &c. but all to no purpose.

From the above circumstances, Aram and Houseman were suspected of being accomplices with Clark; upon which, a process was granted from the steward of the honour of Knaresbrough, to arrest Aram for a debt due to one Mr. Norton, which was done with a view to detain him until such time as a warrant could be had from a justice of peace, to take him up for being concerned along with Clark in defrauding people of their plate, &c. Aram, contrary to the expectation of every person in town, (being then esteemed very poor) paid what he was arrested for, and produced a large sum of money; and, in a few days, paid off a considerable mortgage upon his house in Bondgate, near Ripon. Soon after his releasement, he left the town of Knaresbrough, and was not heard of with any certainty until the month of June, 1758, when he was found at Lynn, in Norfolk.

Aram's departure from Knaresbrough seems to have put a stop to any further examination into this affair; for nothing was effectually discovered, touching Clark's being murdered, until the 1st. of August, 1758, (which was upwards of thirteen years from the time of Clark's being missing) when it happened that a labourer, employed in digging

for stone to supply a lime-kiln, at a place called Thistle-hill, near Knaresbrough, having at the edge of the cliff, dug about half a yard, and half a quarter deep, found a wooden chest, which on being removed, was found to contain a Human Skeleton, that had been put in double. A traveller, servant to a Jew, was with his stock-in-trade missing about the time that Daniel Clark disappeared, and as his employer could trace him no farther than Knaresbrough, it was afterwards suspected he had been murdered, and that these were his remains. This remarkable incident being rumoured in the town of Knaresbrough, gave reason for a suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered and buried there; and rather, as there had been no other person missing thereabouts, to any one's knowledge for 60 years and upwards, except the Jew. The strangeness of the event, excited people's curiosity to inquire strictly into it: upon which, the coroner was sent for, and an inquisition taken on the Skeleton. The wife of Eugene Aram, who had before frequently given hints of her suspicion that Daniel Clark had been murdered, was now examined by the coroner and jury, as to what she knew concerning Clark. She said "Daniel Clark was an intimate acquaintance of her husbands; and, that they had frequent transactions together before the 7th of February, 1744-5, and that Richard Houseman was often with them: particularly that, on thursday, the 7th of February, 1744-5, about six o'Clock in the evening, Aram came home



when she was washing in the kitchen ; upon which, he directed her to put out the fire, and make one above stairs ; she accordingly did so. Aram then went out again, and about two o'clock in the morning, on Friday, the 8th of February, Aram, Clark, and Houseman, came to Aram's house, and went up stairs to the room where she was: they staid about an hour. Her husband asked her for an handkerchief for Dickey (meaning Richard Houseman) to tie about his head ; she accordingly lent him one. Then Clark said 'It will soon be morning, and we must get off.' After which Aram, Houseman, and Clark, all went out together: that, upon Clark's going out, she observed him take a sack or wallet upon his back, which he carried along with him: whither they went, she could not tell. That about five o'clock the same morning, her husband and Houseman returned, and Clark did not come with them. Her husband came up stairs, and desired to have a candle, that he might make a fire below. To which she objected, and said 'There was no occasion for two fires, as there was a good one in the room above, where she then was. To which Aram (her husband) answered, "Dickey (meaning Richard Houseman) was below, and did not chuse to come up stairs:" Upon which she asked (Clark not returning with them) what they had done with Daniel?" To this, her husband gave no answer; but desired her to go to bed, which she refused; and told him they had been doing

something bad : then Aram went down with the candle. She being desirous to know what her husband and Houseman were doing, and being about to go down stairs, heard Houseman say to Aram, 'She is coming.' Her husband replied 'We'll not let her.' Houseman then said 'If she does, she'll tell.' 'What can she tell?' replied Aram, 'poor simple thing! she knows nothing.' To which Houseman said, 'If she tells that I am here, 'twill be enough.' Her husband then said, 'I will hold the door to prevent her from coming.' Whereupon Houseman said, 'Something must be done to prevent her telling,' and pressed him to it very much ; and said, if she does not tell now, she may at some other time.' 'No,' said her husband, 'we will coax her a little, until her passion be off, and then take an opportunity of shooting her: Upon which Houseman seemed satisfied, and said 'What must be done with her clothes?' Whereupon they both agreed to let her lie where she was shot in her clothes. She hearing this discourse, was much terrified, but remained quiet until seven o'clock in the same morning, when Aram and Houseman went out of the house a second time. Upon which, Mrs. Aram coming down stairs, and seeing there had been a fire below, and all the ashes taken carefully from out of the grate, she went and examined the dunghill, and perceiving ashes of a different kind to lie upon it, she searched among them, and found several pieces of linen and woollen cloth, very nearly burnt, which had the

appearance of belonging to wearing apparel, when she returned into the house from the dung-hill, she found the handkerchief she had lent Houseman the night before ; and looking at it, found some blood upon it, about the size of a shilling : upon which, she immediately went to Houseman, and showed him the pieces of cloth she had found ; and said, she was afraid they had done something bad to Clark. But, Houseman affected great surprise, pretended he was a stranger to her accusation, and said he knew nothing what she meant. From the above circumstances, she believes Daniel Clark to have been murdered by Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram, on the morning of Friday, the 8th of February, 1744-5."

Mr. Philip Coates, of Knaresbrough, brother of Daniel Clark's wife, was then examined by the coroner ; who said, "He knew Daniel Clark from a Child ; and that he was with him on Thursday, the 7th of February, 1744-5, about nine o'clock at night, and that Clark promised to call upon him in the morning : but not doing so, he went to Clark's house, about nine o'clock in the morning. After inquiring for him there, Clark's maid told him he was gone to Newall, to his wife. On Sunday, the 10th of February, Mr. Coates went to Newall to seek Clark, but could not hear of him, nor ever did, though he had been advertised for some time. That a week or ten days before Clark was missing, he received a large sum of money ; and that no money was remaining at his house after he was missing."



Several other witnesses were examined by the coroner, affirming that Eugene Aram and Richard Houseman, were the last persons seen with Clark, especially on the night of Thursday, the 7th of February, 1744-5, being the night before Clark was missing, and other particular circumstances, which, to avoid repetition, will be shown at large when we come upon the trial. We shall only add, that of John Yeates, a barber, in Knaresbrough, who said: "He knew Daniel Clark, and the last time he saw him, was then about thirteen or fourteen years ago, and that he had been missing ever since. Some time after which, as he (Yeates) was going over Thistle-Hill, near the rock, he observed a place to be fresh dug, and oblong; he presumed it might contain a boy of about twelve years of age; that he had seen the place where the bones of a deceased person were found, and said it was the same he saw fresh dug up."

Barbara Leetham, of Knaresbrough, widow, gave the same kind of evidence.

Mr. Higgins and Mr. Locock, of Knaresbrough, surgeons, upon breaking a thigh bone of the skeleton, and viewing it, gave it as their opinion, that the body might have laid in the ground about thirteen or fourteen years.

These testimonies were given before the inquest, in the manner related, and Houseman, by the coroner's orders, being present, it was observed that he seemed very uneasy; discovering all the signs of guilt, such as trembling, turning pale, and



faultering in his speech, &c. This, with the strong circumstances given by Mrs. Aram, &c. gave a suspicion that he must have been concerned in the murder of Clark, though he gave no account of the matter, and denied that he knew any thing concerning that murderous transaction.

Upon the skeleton's being produced, Houseman, at the coroner's request, took up one of the bones; and in his confusion, dropped this unguarded expression, "*This is no more Dan Clark's bone than it is mine!*" From which it was concluded, that if Houseman was so certain that the bones before him were not Dan Clark's, he could give some account of him; and being told so, he answered, "That he could produce a witness who had seen Daniel Clark upon the road two or three days after he was missing at Knaresbrough." Accordingly the witness, one Parkinson, was sent for; who, on being asked the question, told the coroner and jury, "That he himself had never seen Daniel Clark after that time, viz. the 8th of February, 1744-5; that a friend of his (Parkinson's) told him he had met a person like Daniel Clark, but, as it was a snowy day, and the person had the cape of his great coat up, he could not say, with the least degree of certainty, who he was."

This, so far from being satisfactory, increased the suspicion, that Houseman was either the murderer of Clark, or an accomplice in the murder, whereupon, the constable applied to William Thornton, esq. of Thornville; who, being informed

by the coroner, of the depositions taken, granted them a warrant to apprehend Houseman, and bring him before him. He was accordingly brought and examined: here he said. "He was in company with Daniel Clark the night before he went off, which he believes might be on a Thursday, in February, 1744-5; that the reason of his being then with him, was upon account of some money, viz. £20, that he had lent Clark, which he wanted to get again of him, and for which he (Clark) then gave him some goods that took up a considerable time in carrying from Clark's house to his own, viz. from eleven, (the hour at which he went to Clark,) till some time the next morning: that the goods he took were leather, and some linen cloth, of which as soon as he had possessed himself, and also of a note of the prices he was to sell them at, he left Clark in Aram's house with Aram and another man, unknown to this examinant: who further saith, that Aram and Clark, immediately after, followed him out of Aram's house, and went into the market-place, with the other unknown person, which the light of the moon enabled him to see: that he does not know what became of them after; and utterly disavows that he came back to Aram's house that morning with Aram and without Clark, as is asserted by Mrs. Aram, nor was he with Aram, but with Clark, at Aram's house that night, whither he went to seek him, in order to obtain from him the note, above mentioned; that after he had lodged the goods he had got at Clark's house,



safely in his own, he went to seek Clark, found him at Aram's, with the unknown person, and after he having procured the note which was his errand, came away directly, as was related. He further saith, that he did not see Clark take any wallet, plate, or any things of value along with him when they came out of the house the last time, which was early in the morning. But he admits, that some time after Clark was missing, Anna Aram came to him in a passion, and demanded money of him, and said he had money of her husband's, in his hands, and pretended to shew him some shreds of cloth, and asked if he knew what they were? To which he answered, that he did not know. And entirely denies that he ever has been charged with the murder of Daniel Clark, till now by Anna Aram.

Being asked if he chose to sign this examination, he said he chose to wave it for the present; for that he might have something to add, and therefore desired to have time to consider of it.

As he chose not to sign this examination, it was presumed that he was conscious he had not declared the truth of the matter; and Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him to York-castle the morning following. At Green-Hammerton, on the road to York, he behaved to his conductors in such a manner, as to show that he was concerned in the murder, or knew of it; and that he was desirous of making a more ample confession to their arrival at York. Being come to the Minster in Mickle-

gate, they were informed that Mr. Thornton, the magistrate before-mentioned, was then passing by; Houseman desired he might be called into the house, and in his presence made the following confession: that Daniel Clark was murdered by Eugene Aram, late of Knaresbrough, a school-master; and, as he believes, on Friday the 8th of February, 1744-5, for that Eugene Aram and Daniel Clark were together at Aram's house early that morning, (being moon-light, and snow upon the ground) and that he (Houseman) left the house and went up the street a little before, and they called to him, desiring he would go a short way with them, and he accordingly went along with them to a place called St. Robert's cave, near Grimbald-bridge, where Aram and Clark stopped; there he saw Aram strike Clark several times over the breast and head, and saw him fall as if he was dead; upon which he came away and left them. But whether Aram used any weapon or not, to kill Clark he could not tell; nor does he know what he did with the body afterwards; but believes that Aram left it at the mouth of the cave; for that seeing Aram do this, lest he might share the same fate, he made the best of his way from him, and got to the bridge end; where, looking back, he saw Aram coming from the cave side (which is in a private rock adjoining the river) and could discern a bundle in his hand, but did not know what it was; upon this he hastened away to the town, without either joining Aram, or seeing him again till the next day, and



from that time to this, he never had any private discourse with him. Afterwards, however, Houseman said that Clark's body was buried in St. Robert's cave; and, that he was sure it was then there, but desired it might remain till such time as Aram should be taken. He added further, That Clark's head lay to the right, in the turn at the entrance of the cave. These words Houseman repeated the day after, to Mr. Barker, the Constable.\*

On Houseman's commitment to the castle, (which was on Thursday, August 17th, 1758) proper persons were appointed to examine St. Robert's cave, where, agreeable to his confession, was found the skeleton of a human body, the head lying as he before had said; upon which, an inquisition was taken by the coroner, but it does not appear what verdict the jury gave, or whether *these bones*, and those before *accidentally discovered*, were *both*, or *either*, or *neither* found to be Clark's, or *who* was charged with the murder.

Houseman having thus declared that Clark was murdered by Aram; who, was found to be at Lynn, in Norfolk;† Mr Thornton issued his war-

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\* This confession Mr. Thornton gave to Houseman, to read over; and, after he had so done, asked him if he chose to sign it; to which he consented, replying "*that it was the truth, and the real truth.*" Upon which he was committed to the castle.

† It was not then known where Aram was, till a man who had formerly lived in the neighbourhood of Knaresbrough, who then travelled about the country with a Stallion, happening to be in the town and hearing Aram's name mentioned, said he had seen that man lately at Lynn, in Norfolk, and added, "*but he was too proud to speak to me,*"

rant to apprehend him, and directed Mr. John Barker, and Mr. Francis Moor, the constables of Knaresbrough, to sir John Turner, Bart. a justice of the peace, M. P. for Lynn, with orders to call at every Post-Office on the road, and enquire for Letters directed for Aram—they did so, and found only one, in which was written—“*Fly for your life, you are pursued.*” On their arrival at Lynn, they waited on this gentleman, who endorsed the warrant, and Aram was apprehended in the free school,\* at that place, where he was usher, and conducted to Yorkshire. Being brought before Mr. Thornton, and examined, he confessed—“That he was well acquainted with Daniel Clark; and, to the best of his remembrance, it was about, or before the 8th of February, 1744-5, but utterly denied he had any connexion with him in those frauds with which Clark stood charged, at or before the time of his disappearance, which might be about the 10th of February, 1744-5, when he (Aram) was arrested by process, for debt:—That, during the time of his being in custody, he first heard that Clark was missing:—That, after his release, he was apprehended by a warrant from a justice of the peace, for a misdemeanor; but appearing before the justice, and the charge not

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\* While assistant at this school to the Rev. Dr. Lloyd, Aram had under his care, the late scientific and celebrated Admiral James Burney, the companion of Captain Cook in two of his voyages round the world, and brother of that very eminent greek scholar, the late Dr. Charles Burney, of Greenwich.



being made out against him, he was dismissed :— After this he continued at Knaresbrough a considerable time, without any molestation ; and then removed to Nottingham, to spend a few days with his relations ; from whence he went to London. There he resided publicly till he came down to Lynn, which was about seven months before he was arrested by warrant, on suspicion of being concerned in the murder of Daniel Clark.—He admits that he might be with Clark, in February, 1744-5, but does not recollect that he was at Mr. Carter's, who keeps a public-house in Knaresbrough, with a jew, Richard Houseman, a flax-dresser, and Daniel Clark, about twelve o'clock at night, on the 7th of February, 1744-5 ;—nor does he recollect he was in company with Clark and Houseman, after two o'clock in the morning, at any particular time or place, in February, 1744-5 ;—nor at, and after three o'clock in the morning ;—nor at Grimbold-bridge ;—nor at, or near a place called St. Robert's cave, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning ;—nor does he know any thing of Clark's being murdered ;—nor does he recollect that he was with Clark and Houseman, when Clark called upon William Tuton, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning ;—nor does he remember any thing of a mason's tool being found in his own house, when he was arrested by a warrant in 1744-5 ;—nor does he remember meeting Mr. Barnett, or seeing him in company with

the above-said persons, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, in the morning ;—nor does he remember that he came home that morning at five o'clock, with Houseman, and made a fire for them in his own house, which is asserted by his wife;—nor does he remember that he had so great a sum of money as fifty guineas about that time, or pulled any such sum out of his pocket ;—nor did he seek to suborn or ask any one person to say that he had seen Clark since the 8th of February, 1744-5, who really had not seen him ;—but true it was that he has often made inquiry about him, and particularly of his brother Stephen Aram, but does not recollect any other person, except another brother of his, Henry Aram, who has said that he saw him, nor does he know where it was those brothers said they saw him." The declaration of other circumstances, and the signing of this examination, he chose to wave, that he might have time to recollect himself better, and lest any thing should be omitted, which might hereafter occur to him.

Though, in this examination, he denies the murder that was charged upon him by Houseman, in his confession, yet, notwithstanding, Mr. Thornton thought proper to commit him ; and accordingly made out his commitment. In obedience to which, Barker and Moor were about to convey him to York-castle, and had taken him a mile from Mr. Thornton's house, when Aram desired to return to Mr Thornton, having, as he alledged, something of consequence to impart to him. Accordingly



they returned to Mr. Thornton's; where Aram, upon being a second time examined, said, That he was at his own house on Thursday, the 7th of February, 1744-5, at night, when Richard Houseman and Daniel Clark came to him with some plate, and both of them went for more several times, and came back with several pieces of plate, of which Clark was endeavouring to defraud his neighbours:—that he could not but observe, that Houseman was all that night very diligent to assist him to the utmost of his power, and insisted that it was Houseman's business that night, and not the signing of any note or instrument, as is pretended by Houseman.—That Henry Terry then of Knaresbrough, ale-draper, was as much concerned in abetting the said frauds, as either Houseman or Clark; but, was not now at Aram's house, because as it was market-day, his absence from his guests might have occasioned some suspicion:—that Terry, notwithstanding, brought two silver tankards that night, upon Clark's account, which had been fraudulently obtained:—And, that Clark, so far from having borrowed £20 of Houseman, to his knowledge never borrowed more than £9, which he had paid again before that night.

That all the leather Clark had, which amounted to a considerable value, he well knows was concealed under flax, in Houseman's house, with intent to be disposed of by little and little, in order to prevent suspicion of his being con-

cerned in Clark's fraudulent practices.

That Terry took the plate in a bag, as Clark and Houseman did the watches, rings, and several small things of value, and carried them into the Flat, where they and he (Aram) went together to St. Robert's cave, and beat most of the plate flat.—That it was thought too late in the morning, being about four o'clock, on the 8th of February, 1744-5, for Clark to go off, so as to get to any distance, it was therefore agreed that he should stay there till the night following, and Clark accordingly staid there all that day, as he believes, they having agreed to send him victuals, which were carried to him by Henry Terry, he being judged the most likely person to do it without suspicion, for as he was a shooter, he might go thither under the pretence of sporting.—That the next night, in order to give Clark more time to get off, Henry Terry, Richard Houseman, and himself, went down to the cave, very early; but he (Aram) did not go in to see Clark at all;—that Richard Houseman and Henry Terry only went into the cave, he staying to watch, at a little distance on the outside, lest any person should surprise them.—

That he believes they were beating some plate, for he heard them make a noise; they staid there about an hour, and then came out of the cave, and told him that Clark was gone off.—Observing a bag they had along with them, he took it in his hand, and saw that it contained plate.—On asking why Daniel did not take the plate along with him?

'Terry and Houseman replied;—That they had bought it of him, as well as the watches, and had given him money for it, that being more convenient for him to go off with, as less cumbersome and dangerous.' After which they all three went into Houseman's warehouse, and concealed the watches with the small plate there, but that 'Terry carried away with him the large plate:—that afterwards Terry told him he carried it to How-hill, and hid it there, and then went into Scotland, and disposed of it: But as to Clark, he could not tell whether he was murdered or not, he knew nothing of him, only that they told him he was gone off.'

After he had signed this second confession, he was conducted to York-castle, where he and Houseman remained till the assizes.

From the above examination of Aram, there appeared great reason to suspect Terry to be an accomplice in this black affair; a warrant was therefore granted, and he likewise was apprehended, and committed to the castle. Bills of indictment were found against him: but it appearing to the court, upon affidavit, that the prosecutor could not be fully provided with witnesses at that time, the trial was postponed till Lammas assizes.

On Friday, the 3rd of August, 1759, Richard Houseman and Eugene Aram were brought to the bar, and arraigned for the murder of Daniel Clark, in the night between the 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5. Richard Houseman was first tried, and acquitted, for want of sufficient evidence against



him. Being thus acquitted, he was at liberty to give his evidence against Eugene Aram. The court accordingly having admitted him as a witness, he was sworn to speak the truth. He was then called upon, who deposed “That in the night between the 7th and 8th of February, 1744-5, about eleven o’clock, he (Houseman) went to Aram’s house, where he found Clark and Aram together. That after two hours spent in passing to and fro between their respective houses, to dispose of several goods, and to settle some notes concerning them,—Aram the prisoner proposed first to Clark, and then to him, the witness (Houseman) to take a walk; this was agreed to, and accordingly they walked into a field at a little distance from the town, in which field, is St. Robert’s cave;—Aram and Clark then went over the hedge, and when they came within six or eight yards of the cave, he saw them quarrelling; that he saw Aram strike Clark several times, upon which Clark fell, and he never saw him rise again; that he saw no instrument Aram had, and knew not that he had any; that upon this without any interposition, or alarm, he left them and returned home; that the next morning he went to Aram’s house, and asked what business he had with Clark last night; and what he had done with him? Aram replied not to this question, but threatened him if he spoke of his being in Clark’s company that night; vowing revenge either by himself or some other person, if he mentioned any thing relating to the affair.”



Peter Moor, who had been Clark's servant deposed "That a little time before his disappearing, Clark went to receive his wife's fortune.—That upon his return, he went to Aram's house, where this witness then was.—That upon Clark's coming in, Aram said, 'How do you, Mr. Clark? I'm glad to see you at home again, pray what success?' To which Clark replied 'I have received my wife's fortune, and have it in my pocket, though it was with difficulty I got it.' Upon which Aram said to Clark, (Houseman being present) 'Let us go up stairs:' accordingly they went; upon which this witness returned home."

Mr. Beckwith, of Knaresbrough, linen-draper, deposed, "That when Aram's garden was searched, on suspicion of his being an accomplice in the frauds of Clark, there were found buried there several kinds of goods, bound together in a coarse wrapper; and amongst the rest, in particular, a piece of cambrick, which he himself had sold Clark, a very little time before."

Thomas Barnett deposed, "That on Friday, the 8th of February, about one in the morning, he saw a person come out from Aram's house, who had a wide coat on, with the cape about his head, and who seemed to shun him; whereupon he went up to him, and put by the cape of his great coat, and perceiving it to be Richard Houseman, wished him a good night, alias, a good morning."

John Barker, the constable, who executed the warrant, granted by Mr. Thornton, and endorsed

by sir John Turner, deposed, "That, at Lynn, sir John Turner, and some others, first went into the school where Aram was, the witness waiting at the door. Sir John asked him if he knew Knaresbrough. He replied No. And he being further asked if he had any acquaintance with one Daniel Clark,—He denied that he ever knew such a man. The witness then entered the school, and said, How do you do, Mr Aram? Aram replied, How do you do, sir? I don't know you. What! said the witness, don't you know me—don't you remember Daniel Clark, and that you had a spite against me when you lived at Knaresbrough? Upon this he recollected the witness, and owned his residence at Knaresbrough. The witness then asked him, if he did not know St. Robert's cave. He answered yes. The witness replied, aye, to your sorrow. That upon their journey to York, Aram inquired after his old neighbours, and what they said of him. To which the witness replied, that they were much enraged against him, for the loss of their goods.—That upon Aram's asking, if it was not possible to make up the matter, the witness answered, he believed he might save himself if he would restore to them what they had lost. Aram answered, that was impossible: but he might, perhaps find them an equivalent." Aram was then asked by the judge,\* if he had any thing to

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\* William Noel, Esq. the judge, was the second son of Sir John Noel, Bart. of the family of the Noels, Viscount's Wentworth.



say to the witness before him. He replied, that, to the best of his knowledge, it was not in the school, but in the room adjoining to the school, where Sir John Turner and the witness were, when he first saw them.

The skull was then produced in court, on the left side of which there was a fracture, that from the nature of it, could not have been made but by the stroke of some blunt instrument; the piece was beaten inwards, and could not be replaced but from within. Mr. Locock, the surgeon, who produced it, gave it as his opinion, "That no such breach could proceed from any natural decay—that it was not a recent fracture by the instrument with which it was dug up, but seemed to be of many years' standing."

Aram the prisoner was then asked if he had any witnesses, or whether he had any thing to offer in his own defence. He answered, that it was impossible for him after such a lapse of time, as had passed since the commission of the fact with which he was charged, to produce any witnesses in his justification. That those who could have been of any efficiency to him on this occasion were either dead, or so dispersed that he knew not where to find them: but he hoped the court would take into consideration, that all the evidence against him was *merely circumstantial*, except that of *Houseman*, who, from his own shewing, was *an accessory to the fact*, though he had been acquitted; and therefore he submitted it to the court whether such



evidence ought to be received. He then begged he might be indulged in reading his defence.

The following is a faithful copy of it, printed from his own original, and retaining even its accidental grammatical inaccuracies.

“MY LORD,

I KNOW not whether it is of right, or through some indulgence of your lordship, that I am allowed the liberty at this bar, and at this time, to attempt a defence; incapable, and uninstructed as I am to speak. Since, while I see so many eyes upon me, so numerous and awful a concourse, fixed with attention, and filled with I know not what expectancy, I labour, not with guilt, my lord, but with perplexity. For, having never seen a court but this, being wholly unacquainted with law, the customs of the bar, and all judiciary proceedings, I fear I shall be so little capable of speaking with propriety in this place, that it exceeds my hope, if I shall be able to speak at all.

I have heard, my lord, the indictment read, wherein I find myself charged with the highest crime, with an enormity I am altogether incapable of; a fact, to the commission of which there goes far more insensibility of heart, more profligacy of morals, than ever fell to my lot. And nothing possibly could have admitted a presumption of this nature, but a depravity, not inferior to that imputed to me. However, as I stand indicted at your

Lordship's bar, and have heard what is called evidence adduced in support of such a charge, I very humbly solicit your Lordship's patience, and beg the hearing of this respectable audience, while I, single and unskilful, destitute of friends, and unassisted by counsel, say something, perhaps like argument, in my defence. I shall consume but little of your Lordship's time: what I have to say will be short, and this brevity probably will be the best part of it: however, it is offered with all possible regard, and the greatest submission to your Lordship's consideration, and that of this honourable court.

First, my Lord, the whole tenor of my conduct in life, contradicts every particular of this indictment. Yet I had never said this, did not my present circumstances extort it from me, and seem to make it necessary. Permit me here, my Lord, to call upon malignity itself, so long and cruelly busied in this prosecution, to charge upon me any immorality, of which prejudice was not the author. No, my Lord, I concerted not schemes of fraud, projected no violence, injured no man's person or property. My days were honestly laborious, my nights intensely studious. And, I humbly conceive, my notice of this, especially at this time, will not be thought impertinent or unseasonable, but, at least, deserving some attention: because, my Lord, that any person, after a temperate use of life, a series of thinking and acting regularly, and without

one single deviation from sobriety, should plunge into the very depth of profligacy, precipitately and at once, is altogether improbable and unprecedented, and absolutely inconsistent with the course of things.—Mankind are never corrupted at once; villany is always progressive, and declines from right, step after step, till every regard of probity is lost, and every sense of moral obligation totally perishes.

Again, my Lord, a suspicion of this kind, which nothing but malevolence could entertain, and ignorance propagate, is violently opposed by my very situation at that time, with respect to health:—For, but a little space before, I had been confined to my bed, and suffered under a very long and severe disorder, and was not able, for half a year together, so much as to walk. The distemper left me indeed, yet slowly and in part; but so macerated, so enfeebled, that I was reduced to crutches; and I was so far from being well about the time I am charged with this fact, that I never to this day perfectly recovered. Could then a person in this condition take any thing into his head so unlikely, so extravagant? I past the vigour of my age, feeble and valetudinary, with no inducement to engage, no ability to accomplish, no weapon wherewith to perpetrate such a fact;—without interest, without power, without motive, and without means.

Besides, it must needs occur to every one, that an action of this atrocious nature is never heard of, but when it's springs are laid open, it appears that



it was to support some indolence, or supply some luxury ; to satisfy some avarice, or to gratify some malice ; to prevent some real or some imaginary want : Yet I lay not under the influence of any one of these. Surely, my Lord, I may, consistent with both truth and modesty, affirm thus much ; and none who have any veracity, and knew me, will ever question this.

In the second place, the disappearance of Clark is suggested as an argument of his being dead. But, my Lord, the uncertainty of such an inference from that, and indeed the fallibility of all conclusions of such a sort, from such a circumstance, are too obvious, and too notorious to require instances : yet, superseding many ; permit me to produce a very recent one, and that afforded by this castle.

In June, 1757, William Thompson, amidst all the vigilance of this place, in open day-light, and double-ironed, made his escape ; and, notwithstanding an immediate inquiry set on foot, the strictest search, and all advertisements, was never seen or heard of since.\* If then Thompson got

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\* The skeleton of the above mentioned William Thompson, was found on Saturday, the 8th of July 1780, behind the Old Court house, in the castle of York, near the foundation, and about three feet from the wall, with double irons on, having lain there 23 years. It is supposed that he got on the top of the Old Court house, by the assistance of a ladder, which stood there, had dropped down the wall and was killed by the fall. As nothing but nettles and weeds grew in the place, where the bones were found, it was seldom visited by any person.

off unseen, through all these difficulties, how very easy was it for Clark, when none of them opposed him? But, what would be thought of a prosecution commenced against any one seen last with 'Thompson?

Permit me next, my Lord, to observe a little upon the bones which have been discovered. It is said which perhaps is saying very far, that these are the bones of a man. It is possible indeed they may; but, is there any certain known *criterion*, which incontestibly distinguishes the sex in human bones?— Let it be considered, my Lord, whether the ascertaining of this point ought not to precede any attempt to identify it.

The place of their depositum, too, claims much more attention than is commonly bestowed upon it. For, of all places in the world, none could have mentioned any one, wherein there was greater certainty of finding human bones, than an hermitage, except he should point out a churchyard. Hermitages, my Lord, in times past, being not only places of religious retirement, but of burial too: And, it has scarcely or never been heard of, but that every cell, now known, contains or contained, these relicts of humanity; some mutilated, and some entire. I do not inform, but give me leave to remind your Lordship, that here sat solitary sanctity, and here the hermit, or the anchoress hoped that repose for their bones, when dead, which they here enjoyed, when living.

All this while, my Lord, I am sensible this is

known to your Lordship, and many in this court, better than I know it; but, it seems necessary to my case, that others, who have not at all perhaps, adverted to things of this nature, and who may have some concern, or feel some interest in my trial, should be made acquainted with it. Suffer me then, my Lord, to produce a few out of many evidences, that these cells were used as repositories of the dead, and to enumerate a few in which human bones have been found, as it happened in this in question; lest, to some, that accident might seem extraordinary, and consequently occasion prejudice.

1. The bones, as it was supposed, of the saxon St, Dubritius, were discovered buried in his cell at Guy's-cliff,\* near Warwick, as appears from the authority of Sir William Dugdale.

2. The bones, thought to be those of the anchoress Rosia, were but lately discovered in a cell at Royston, entire, fair, and undecayed, though they must have lain interred for several centuries, as is proved by Dr. Stukely.

3. But our own country, nay, almost this neighbourhood, supplies another instance: for, in

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\* Guy's-cliff is a large rock about a mile north of Warwick, on the western bank of the Avon. St. Dubritius selected this spot as a place of devotion, and for that purpose he built an oratory there, to which place the famous Guy, Earl of Warwick, is said to have retired from the cares of the world.



January, 1747, were found by Mr. Stovin, accompanied by a reverend gentleman,\* the bones in part of some recluse, in the cell at Lindholmn, near Hatfield. They were believed to be those of William of Lindholmn, a hermit, who had long made this cave his habitation.

4. In February, 1749, part of Woburn-abbey being pulled down, a large portion of a corpse appeared, even with the flesh on, and which bore cutting with a knife; though it is certain this had laid above 200 years, and how much longer is doubtful, for this abbey was founded in 1145, and dissolved in 1538 or 9.

What would have been said, what believed, if this had been an accident to the bones in question?

Farther, my Lord, it is not yet out of living memory, that, at a little distance from Knaresbrough, in a field, part of the manor of the worthy and patriotic baronet,† who does that borough the honour to represent it in parliament, were found, in digging for gravel, not one human skeleton only, but five or six, deposited side by side, with each an urn placed at it's head, as your Lordship knows was usual in ancient interments.‡

About the same time, and in another field almost close to this borough, was discovered also in search.

\* The Rev. Samuel Wesley.

† Sir Henry Slingsby, Bart. of Scriven hall.

‡ See Hargrove's History of Knaresbrough, page 127, 7th Edit. 1832.

ing for gravel, another human skeleton ; but, the piety of the same worthy gentleman, ordered both the pits to be filled up again, commendably unwilling to disturb the dead.

Is the invention of these bones forgotten, then, or industriously concealed, that the discovery of those in question may appear the more singular and extraordinary? Whereas, in fact, there is nothing extraordinary in it. My Lord, almost every place conceals such remains. In fields—in hills—in highway sides—and on commons, lie frequent and unsuspected bones ; and our present allotments for rest for the departed, are but of some centuries.

Another particular seems not to claim a little of your Lordship's notice, and that of the gentlemen of the jury ; which is, that perhaps no example occurs of more than *one* skeleton being found in one cell ; and in the cell in question was found but *one* ; agreeable, in this, to the peculiarity of every other known cell in Britain. Not the invention of one skeleton, then, but of two would have appeared suspicious and uncommon.

But then, my Lord, to attempt to identify these, when even to identify living men sometimes has proved so difficult ; as in the case of *Perkin Warbeck*, and *Lambert Symnel* at home, and *Don Sebastian*\* abroad, will be looked upon perhaps,

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\* The first and second of these gentlemen were aspirants to the English throne, in the Reign of Henry VII. *The imposter Symnel* after a series of disasters and defeats, ended his days as a *tourne*

as an attempt to determine what is undeterminable. And I hope, too, it will not pass unconsidered here,—where gentlemen believe with caution, think with reason, and decide with humanity,—what interest the endeavour to do this is calculated to serve, in assigning proper personality to those bones, whose particular appropriation can only appear to eternal Omniscience.

Permit me, my Lord, also very humbly to remonstrate, that, as human bones appear to have been the inseparable adjuncts of every cell, even any person's naming such a place at random, as containing them, in this case, shows such person to be rather unfortunate than consciously prescient; and that these attendants on every hermitage only accidentally concurred with this conjecture. A mere casual coincidence of words and things.

But it seems another skeleton has been discovered by some labourer, which was full as confidently averred to be Clark's as this is. My Lord, must some of the living, if it promotes some interest, be made answerable for all the bones that earth has concealed, and chance exposed? And might not a place where bones lay, be mentioned by a person

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*broche* in the King's Kitchen. For particulars, consult Hollingshead, Grafton, and other Historians. *Perkin Warbeck*, after numerous adventures, having fallen into the hands of the merciless Henry, died on the scaffold in 1499. See Dr. Henry's History of England. *Don Sebastian*, King of Portugal, was the posthumous son of the infant Don John, by Joanna, daughter of the Emperor Charles V.



by chance, as well as found by a labourer by chance? Or, is it more criminal accidentally to name where bones lie, than accidentally to find where they lie?

Here too is a human skull produced, which is fractured; but, was this the cause, or was it the consequence of death; was it owing to violence, or was it the effect of natural decay? If it was violence, was that violence before or after death? My Lord, in May, 1732, the remains of William,\* Lord Archbishop of this Province, were taken up by permission, in this cathedral, and the bones of the skull were found broken; yet, certainly he died by no violence offered to him alive, that could occasion that fracture there.

Let it be considered, my Lord, how easily the fracture on the skull produced may be accounted for—that upon the dissolution of religious houses, at the commencement of the reformation, the ravages of those times affected both the living and the dead. In search of imaginary treasures, coffins were broken up—graves and vaults dug open—monuments ransacked, and shrines demolished; your Lordship knows that these violations proceeded so far, as to occasion parliamentary authority to restrain them; and it did, about the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth. I entreat your

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\* Commonly called Saint William, the 30th Archbishop of York. He was nephew of King Stephen, being the son of his sister Emma, by her husband, Herbert, Count de Vermandois, in Picardy.—He died June 8th, 1154.

Lordship—suffer not the violences,—the depredations,—and the iniquities of those times, to be imputed to this.

Moreover, what gentleman here is ignorant that Knaresbrough had a castle, which, though now a ruin, was once considerable both for it's strength and garrison. All know it was vigorously besieged by the arms of the parliament. At which siege, in sallies—conflicts—flights—and pursuits, many fell in all the places round it; and where they fell, there they were buried; for every place, my Lord, is burial earth in war; and many, questionless, of these still rest unknown, whose bones futurity shall discover.

I hope, with all imaginable submission, that what has been said, will not be thought impertinent to this indictment; and that it will be far from the wisdom, the learning, and the integrity of this place, to impute to the living what zeal in it's fury may have done—what nature may have taken off, and piety interred—or what war alone may have destroyed—alone deposited.

As to the circumstances that have been raked together, I have nothing to observe; but, that all circumstances whatsoever are precarious, and have been but too frequently found lamentably fallible; even the strongest have failed. They may rise to the utmost degree of probability; yet they are but probability still. Why need I name to your Lordship the extraordinary case of Joan Perry, and her sons, recorded by Dr.

Howell,\* who all suffered upon circumstances, because of the sudden disappearance of Mr. Harrison, their lodger, who was in credit—had contracted debts—borrowed money—and went off unseen, and returned again a great many years after their execution.—Why name the intricate affair of Jaques du Moulin,† under king Charles II, related by a gentleman who was council for the crown. And why the unhappy Coleman,‡ who suffered innocently, though convicted upon positive evidence, and whose children perished for want, because the world uncharitably believed the father guilty.—Why mention the perjury of Smith,§ incautiously admitted king's evidence; who, to screen himself, equally accused Fairloth and Loveday of the murder of Dunn; the first of whom, in March, 1749, was executed at Winchester; and Loveday was about to suffer at Reading, had not Smith been proved perjured, to the satisfaction of the court, by the surgeon of the Goport-hospital.

And, now, my Lord, having endeavoured to show that the whole of this process is altogether repugnant to every part of my life—that it is inconsistent with my condition of health about that time—that no rational inference can be drawn that a per-

\* See Dr. Howell's *Medull Hlstorix Anglicanæ*, p. 232, 9th Edition, 1734

† See *Gent. Mag.* 1751- p. p. 404, 405, 406.

‡ Idem 1749. p. p. 139, 185, and  
1751, p. p. 377, 378.

§ Idem 1749. p. p. 138, 291, 292, 293.



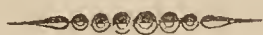
son is dead who suddenly disappears—that hermitages were the constant repositories of the bones of the recluse—that the proofs of these are well authenticated—that the revolutions in religion, and the fortune of war, have mangled or buried the dead—that the strongest circumstantial evidence is often lamentably fallacious: the conclusion remains, perhaps, no less reasonably than impatiently wished for. I, at last, after a year's confinement, equal to either fortune, put myself upon the candor, the justice, and the humanity of your Lordship—and upon your's, my countrymen, gentlemen of the jury."



It might have been expected that the prisoner, in his defence, would have remarked at large upon the improbabilities, the inconsistencies, and contradictions in Houseman's testimony. But, the defence was drawn up long before this trial, and he seems never to have entertained a suspicion that the evidence of a man so notoriously worthless as Houseman was, would have had any weight either with the judge or with the jury. The judge stated the evidence very particularly to the jury; and, after having observed how the testimonies of the other deponents confirmed that of Houseman, he proceeded to remark upon Aram's defence, in order to show that he alledged nothing that could invalidate the positive evidence against him.

Without leaving the court, the jury presently found the prisoner *guilty*. The judge then pronounced the awful sentence of death in the usual form. The prisoner, during the whole trial behaved with great steadiness and decency. He heard the verdict, and received his sentence with the most profound composure, and even left the bar with a smile upon his countenance.\*

Aram wrote the following short account of his family, his life, and his pursuits, in the short interval between his sentence and the night that preceded his execution. So far as it is given to the public, it is given with the same scrupulous exactness with which his defence has been printed. It must, however, be declared, that as we suppressed a part of his second confession, because it reflected on some characters that then stood unimpeached, so we have also suppressed a part of this performance, as being extremely injurious to the integrity and candor of the court.



TO THE

REVEREND MR. COLLINS,†

VICAR OF KNARESBROUGH.

REVEREND SIR,

I ALWAYS believed any relation of my life,

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\* ——— *Anima fugit indignata sub umbras.*

† The Rev. Thomas Collins, was Vicar of Knaresbrough from 1735 till 1788.

of no manner of importance or service to the public; and, I never had either any temptation or desire to appear in print. The publications ushered to the world, (which I ever had little concern for, and have as little now) by persons in my situation, always appeared to me only calculated for the advantages of the press, and for the amusement of a very idle curiosity. But to oblige you, and not to forget my promise, I will recollect as many particulars as I can, upon so sudden a notice, and the small pittance of time which I have left me will allow.

I was born at Ramsgill, a little village in Netherdale, in the West-Riding of Yorkshire, in 1704.\* My maternal relations had been substantial and reputable in that Dale, for a great many generations:—My father† was of Nottinghamshire, a gardener of great abilities in botany, and an ex-

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\* The following are authentic extracts, from the register of the chapelry of Middlesmoor, in Netherdale, by the present Curate, the Rev Mr. Hutchinson.

“Ramsgill. 1704. Eugenius Aram, son of Peter Aram, baptized the second of October.—(His mother’s name is omitted.)

Loftus. 1731. Eugenius Aram, and Anna Spence, married, May 4th, after banns thrice published.

Loftus. 1731-2. Anna, daughter of Eugenius Aram, baptized January 23rd.

These are all the entries that appear; probably Aram’s other children were born at Knaresbrough, where their registers *may be found*.

† Peter, Eugene Aram’s father, was a man of considerable erudition, as will appear from his poem “*On the surprising beauties of Studley Park*,” and, his “*Description of the venerable Ruins of Fountain’s Abbey*,” both which may be found in *Gent’s History of Ripon*, 8vo, 1734.



cellent draftsman. He served the right Rev. the Bishop of London, Dr. Compton,\* with great approbation ; which occasioned his being recommended to Newby.† in this county, to Sir Edward Blackett, whom he served in the capacity of a gardener, with much credit to himself and satisfaction to that family, for above 30 years. Upon the decease of that baronet, he went and was retained in the service of Sir John Ingilby, of Ripley, bart., where he died ; respected when living, and lamented when dead.

My father's ancestors were of great antiquity and consideration in this county, and originally British.—Their surname is local ; for they were formerly lords of the town of Eryam, or Aryam, now called Eryholme, on the southern banks of the Tees, in Yorkshire, and opposite to Stockburn, in the Bishoprick of Durham ; and appear in the records of St. Mary's, at York, among many charitable names, early and considerable benefactors both to that abbey, and to the priory of Bridlington.‡ They, many centuries ago, removed from these parts, and were settled, under the fee of the lords Mowbray, in Nottinghamshire, at Aram, or Averam-Park, in the neighbourhood of

\* Dr. Compton was Bishop of London from 1675, till 1713.

† The present residence of Earl de Grey.

‡ For particulars, see Burton's Monasticon, pages 239, [304, 215 and 250,

Newark-upon-Trent ; where they were possessed of no less than three knight's fees in the reign of Edward 111. their lands, I find not whether by purchase or marriage, came into the hands of the Lexingtons. While the name existed in this county, some of them were high-sheriffs of this county ;\* and one was professor of divinity, if I remember right, at Oxford, and died at York. The last of the chiefs of this family was Thomas Aram, esq. sometime of Gray's-Inn, and one of the commissioners of the salt-office, under the late queen Ann. He married *Geneveire*, one of the co-heiresses of Sir Henry Coningsby, knight, of North-Mims, in Hertfordshire. His seat which was his own estate, was at the Wild, near Shenley, in Hertfordshire, where I saw him, and where he died without issue.

Many more anecdotes are contained in my papers, which are not present ; yet these perhaps may be thought more than enough, as they may be considered rather as ostentatious than pertinent. But, the first was always far from me.

I was removed very young, along with my mother, to Skelton, near Newby ; and thence, at five or six years old, my father making a little purchase in Bondgate, near Ripon, his family went thither. There I went to school : where I was made capa-

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\* Sir William de Eryam. Knight, was high-sheriff of Yorkshire, 5. Richard II. A. D, 1381-2.

ble of reading the Testament, which was all I ever was taught, except, a long time after, about a month, in a very advanced age for that, with the Rev. Mr. Alcock, of Burnsall.

After this, at about thirteen or fourteen years of age, I went to my father, at Newby, and attended him in the family there, till the death of Sir Edward Blackett, It was here my propensity to literature first appeared: for, being always of a solitary disposition, and uncommonly fond of retirement and books, I enjoyed here all the repose and opportunity I could wish. My study at that time, was engaged in the mathematics: I know not what my acquisitions were; but I am certain my application was at once intense and unwearied. I found in my father's library there, which contained a great number of books in most branches, Kersey's Algebra, Leyburn's *Cursus Mathematicus*, Ward's *Young Mathematician's Guide*, Harris' Algebra, &c. and a great many more. But, these being the books in which I was ever most conversant, I remember them the better. I was even then equal to the management of quadratic equations, and their geometrical constructions. After we left Newby, I repeated the same studies in Bondgate, and went over all the parts I had studied before; I believe not unsuccessfully.

Being about the age of sixteen, I was sent for to London, being thought, upon examination, by Mr. Christopher Blackett, the fourth son of the



above-mentioned Sir Edward Blackett, qualified to serve him as book-keeper in his accompting-house. Here, after a year or two's continuance, I took the small-pox, and suffered severely under that distemper. My mother was so impatient to see me, that she was very near upon a journey to London, which I, by an invitation from my father, prevented, by going to her.

At home, with leisure upon my hands, and a new addition of authors to these brought me from Newby, I renewed not only my mathematical studies, but begun and prosecuted others of a different turn, with much avidity and diligence: these were poetry, history, and antiquities, the charms of which quite destroyed all the heavier beauties of numbers and lines, whose applications and properties I now pursued no longer, except occasionally in teaching.

I was, after some time employed in this manner, invited into Netherdale, my native air, where I first engaged in a school,\* and where I

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\* At Ramsgill, the place of his birth, at which gaining some popularity as a teacher, it would appear, among the respectable farmers in the neighbourhood, he was accommodated with a room at Gowthwaite-Hall, two miles from Ramsgill, the residence in former times of the ancient family of the Yorkes, and entrusted with the education of their sons. Here he had under his care the late John Horner, Esq. of Hull, and his brother, George Horner, Esq. who was deputy paymaster of his Majesty's Forces at Guadaloupe, where he died:—These gentlemen were weekly boarders, their friends living on a paternal estate a few miles distant from Gowthwaite-Hall, in the chapelry of Middlesmoor. Here, in addition to these respectable pupils, Eugene Aram was the first instructor of the late William Craven, D. D. whose father resided at Gowthwaite-Hall. Dr. Craven

married,† unfortunately enough for me: for, the misconduct of the wife which that place afforded me, has procured me *this place, this prosecution, this infamy, and this sentence.*

During my continuance here, perceiving the deficiencies in my education, and sensible of my want of the learned languages, and prompted by an irresistable covetousness of knowledge, I commenced a series of studies in that way, and undertook the tediousness, the intricacies, and the labour of grammar; I selected Lilly from the rest: all which I got and repeated by art. The task of

finished his education at Cambridge, and became master of St. John's College, and Professor of Arabic in that University; he stands also as the distinguished author of *Sermons on future state of rewards and punishments*, 8vo. 1776; and also of *Discourses on the Jewish and Christian Dispensations, in answer to Hume*, 8vo. 1802.

† His wife Anna Spence, resided at Lofthouse, or Loftus, previously to her marriage, and several of her relations are now residing in Netherdale, some of whom are persons of property, and of respectable characters. A nephew of hers, John Spence, is still living, 89 years of age.—He says that he does not recollect that he ever saw his uncle Eugene Aram; as he (Aram) removed to this place from Knaresbrough soon after his marriage; but he well remembers hearing his father say, that once on his return from York to this place, he called to see his sister, the wife of Eugene Aram, intending to remain all night, as it was dark when he arrived at Knaresbrough. She gave him a hint, however, that something wrong was going on at her house, and wished him to proceed to Netherdale forthwith, which he accordingly did, but this was sometime previous to the murder of Clark: what this “*something wrong*” was, does not appear. Spence says that he has heard that Aram was a thin man, and he speaks of him as having been “a wonderful person with regard to scholarship. Another old man is still living at Lofthouse, whose father, Richard Iveson, was a pupil of Eugene Aram's at Ramsgill; and he very well recollects hearing his father say, that Aram was a somewhat rigid disciplinarian, but a famous scholar.

repeating it all every day, was impossible, while I attended the school, so I divided it into portions ; by which method it was pronounced thrice every week : and this I performed for years.

Next I became acquainted with Camden's Greek Grammar, which I also repeated in the same manner, memoriter. Thus instructed, I entered upon the latin classics : whose allurements repaid my assiduities and my labours. I remember to have, at first, hung over five lines for a whole day ; and never, in all the painful course of my reading, left any one passage, that I did not, or thought I did not, perfectly comprehend.

After I had accurately perused every one of the latin classics, historians, and poets, I went through the Greek Testament ; first parsing every word as I proceeded ; next I ventured upon Hesiod, Homer, Theocritus, Herodotus, Thucydides, and all the Greek tragédians : a tedious labour was this ; but, my former acquaintance with history lessened it extremely ; because it threw a light upon many passages, which, without that assistance, must have appeared obscure.

In the midst of these literary pursuits, a man and horse, from my good friend William Norton, esq. came for me from Knaresbrough, along with that gentleman's letter, inviting me thither ; and accordingly I repaired thither, in some part of the year 1734, and was, I believe, well accepted and esteemed there. Here, not satisfied with my former acquisitions, I prosecuted the attainment of



the Hebrew ; and with indefatigable diligence. I had Buxtorff's Grammar ; but that being perplexed, or not explicit enough, at least in my opinion at that time, I collected no less than eight or ten different hebrew grammars ; and here, one very often supplied the omissions of others : and this was, I found, of extraordinary advantage. Then I bought the Bible in the original, and read the whole pentateuch, with an intention to go through the whole of it, which I attempted, but wanted time.

In April, I think the 18th, 1744, I went again to London. Here I agreed to teach the latin and writing, for the Rev. Mr. Painblanc, in Piccadilly, which he, along with a salary, returned, by teaching me French ; where I observed the pronunciation the most formidable part, at least to me, who had never before known a word of it. But this, my continued application every night, or other opportunity, overcame, and I soon became a tolerable master of *French*. I remained in this situation two years and above.

Some time after this, I went to Hays, in Middlesex, in the capacity of a *writing-master*, and served a gentlewoman there, since dead : and staid, after that, with a worthy and reverend gentleman,\*

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\* The Rev. Anthony Hinton. Mr Hinton said, that, when Aram was with him, he had frequently observed him, when walking in the garden, to stoop down and carefully remove a snail or worm out of the path, to prevent it's being destroyed, hoping (as Mr. Hinton afterwards supposed) to atone for the murder he had perpetrated, by showing mercy to every animal and insect. But several anecdotes could be procured, to show that he was equally humane prior to the perpetration of the crime.

I continued here between three and four years.

I succeeded to several other places in the south of England, and all that while used every occasion of improvement. I then transcribed the acts of Parliament, to be registered in chancery, and afterwards went down to the free-school, at Lynn.

From my leaving Knaresbrough to this period, is a long interval, which I had filled up with the farther study of history and antiquities, heraldry and botany, in the last of which I was very agreeably entertained, there being so extensive a display of nature. I well knew Turneforte, Ray, Miller, Linnaeus, &c. I made frequent visits to the botanic garden, at Chelsea; and traced pleasure through a thousand fields. At last, few plants, domestic or exotic, were unknown to me. Amidst all this, I ventured upon the Chaldee and Arabic; and, with a design to understand them, supplied myself with the Grammars of Erpinus, Chapelhow, and others: but had not time to obtain any great knowledge of the arabic; the chaldee I found easy enough, because of it's connexion with the hebrew.

I then investigated the Celtic, as far as possible, in all it's dialects; began collections and made comparisons between that, the English, the Latin, the Greek, and even the Hebrew. I had made notes, and compared above three thousand words together, and found such a surprising affinity, even beyond any expectation or conception, that I was determined to proceed through the whole of all

these languages, and form a comparative Lexicon, which I fondly hoped would account for the numberless vocables in use with us, the Latins and the Greeks before concealed and unobserved.—This or something like it, was the design of a clergyman of great erudition, in Scotland; but it must prove abortive, for he died before he executed it, and most of my books and papers are now scattered and lost.

Something is expected as to the affair upon which I was committed, to which I say, as I mentioned in my examination, that all the plate of Knaresbrough, except the watches and rings, were in Houseman's possession; as for me I had nothing at all.\* My wife knows that Terry had the large plate, and that Houseman himself took both that and the watches at my house, from Clark's own hand; and if she will not give this in evidence for the town, she wrongs both that and her own conscience; and if it is not done soon, Houseman will prevent her. She likewise knows that Terry's wife had some velvet; and, if she will, can testify it: She deserves not the regard of the town if she will not. That part of Houseman's evidence wherein he said I threatened him, was absolutely false; for what hindered him, when I was so long absent and

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\* It is generally believed, and upon good grounds, that Aram got all the money which Clark had received as his wife's fortune, viz, about £169. There are strong circumstances to prove it; but, were thought unnecessary, as there was sufficient proof against him without it.



far distant? I must need observe another thing to be perjury in Houseman's evidence, in which he said he went home from Clark, whereas he went straight to my house, as my wife can testify, if I be not believed.

EUGENE ARAM.



Aram submitted to his sentence with all that stoicism with which his whole life has been characteristic; The morning after his condemnation, he was visited by two clergymen who had a licence from the judge to attend him; and, in the course of conversation he told them "*He suspected Clark of having an unlawful commerce with his wife;*" *But supposing that had been the case, had you a right to murder the man?* was then asked—to which he replied—*Sir, I had as much right, as George the first had to do it, for the same reason, to Count Coningsmark.\**

After this, *Pray*, says Aram, *what became of Clark's body, if Houseman went home (as he said upon my trial) immediately on seeing him fall?* One of the clergymen replied, "*Ill tell you what became of it, you and Houseman dragged it into the cave, stripped and buried it there; brought away his clothes and burnt them at your own*

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\* Charles John, Count Coningsmark. was born at Dresden, in Saxony, in 1655.

house.” To which he assented. He was asked whether Houseman did not earnestly press him to murder his wife, for fear she should discover the business they had been about, he hastily replied, “*He did, and pressed me several times to do it !*”

This was the substance of what passed with Aram, the morning after he was condemned ; and as he had promised to make a more ample confession on the day he was executed, it was generally believed that every thing previous to the murder would have been disclosed ; but he prevented any further discovery, by an horrid attempt upon his own life. When he was called from bed to have his irons taken off, he excused himself from rising, alledging that he was very weak and ill. On examination, his arm appeared bloody ; proper assistance being called, it was found that he had attempted to commit suicide, by cutting his arm in two places, with a razor, which he had concealed in the condemned cell, some time before. By proper applications he was partly brought to himself, and though very weak, was conducted to Tyburn ; where, being asked if he had anything to say, he answered, *No*. Immediately after, he was executed, and his body conveyed to Knaresbrough-Forest, and hung in chains, pursuant to his sentence.

On his table in the cell, was found a paper, containing the following reasons for the aforesaid attempt at suicide :—

“What am I better than my fathers? To  
 “die is natural and necessary. Perfectly sensible  
 “of this, I fear no more to die, than I did to be  
 “born. But the manner of it is something which  
 “should, in my opinion, be decent and manly.  
 “I think I have regarded both these points. Cer-  
 “tainly nobody has a better right to dispose of a  
 “man’s life than himself; and he, not others,  
 “should determine how. As for any indignities  
 “offered to my body, or silly reflections on my  
 “faith and morals, they are—as they always  
 “were—things indifferent to me. I think—  
 “(though contrary to the common way of thinking)  
 “I wrong no man by this, and I hope it is not  
 “offensive to that Eternal Being that formed me  
 “and the world: and, as by this I injure no man,  
 “no man can be reasonably offended. I solicitously  
 “recommend myself to the Eternal and Almighty  
 “Being the God of nature, if I have done amiss.  
 “But perhaps I have not; and I hope this thing  
 “will never be imputed to me. Though I am now  
 “stained by malevolence, and suffer by prejudice,  
 “I hope to rise fair and unblemished. My life was  
 “not polluted, my morals were irreproachable, and  
 “my opinions were orthodox.”

I slept soundly till three o’clock, awoke, and then wrote these lines:—

“Come pleasing rest! eternal slumber, fall,  
 “Seal mine, that once must seal the eyes of all;  
 “Calm and compos’d, my soul her journey takes,  
 “No guilt that troubles, and no heart that aches!  
 “Adieu, thou sun! all bright, like her arise,  
 “Adieu, fair friends! and all that’s good and wise.”



These lines were found with the preceding ones, and were supposed to be written by Aram, immediately before he cut himself with the razor.

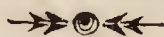
His daughter, Sally Aram, was residing with her father at Lynn, when he was arrested, after which she went to London, where she called upon a York Bookseller, who happened to be there at that time, and told him she was in distress, and hoped he would be so good as make her a present out of the profits which had arisen from the publication of her Father's Trial, &c. and added, she would not long struggle with difficulties, for if she could not meet with a comfortable situation, she was determined to throw herself into the canal, in St. James' Park. In a letter she wrote to an acquaintance at Knaresbrough, she said, "*As to my Father, he is now in Elysium, enjoying the company of Virgil and Homer, with the rest of the celebrated Poets of antiquity.*"

She afterwards married an Inn-keeper, whose house stood on the Surry-side of Westminster-bridge, where the Editor saw and conversed with her, about the year 1767, at which time she had two or three children, the eldest of which might be about five years old. *These children had been educated by their Mother, and told us the names of the different utensils in the room, both in the Latin and Greek Languages.*

Eugene Aram had two other daughters besides Sally, and two sons; one of whom, Joseph, settled

at Green-Hammerton, where he acquired some property, which his son, (Matthias) who succeeded him, sold and afterwards retired to America with his family.

Houseman, on his return to Knaresbrough, met with a very unwelcome reception—a Mob assembled and threatened to pull down his house, but were prevented by the persuasions of Mr. Shepherd, whose house and warehouse were adjoining. But his effigy was carried about the public Streets, and was afterwards knocked on the head with a pick-axe, and then hanged and burnt. He never afterwards appeared in public, but, for about 10 years, until his death, he privately employed himself in dressing flax; after his decease, his remains were removed in the night, and interred at Marton, near Boroughbridge.



## MISCELLANIES,

WRITTEN BY

**EUGENE ARAM,**

WHILE

A PRISONER IN YORK-CASTLE.

*LETTERS.*

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### LETTER I.

*To the Rev. Mr. Collins, Vicar of Knaresbrough.*

REVEREND SIR,

**I** KNOW not, loaded with public odium as I am, and charged with a crime, nay a complication of

crimes, all of which I detest, whether I ought to be solicitous to procure any thing in support of life, particularly under such aggravated circumstances, wherein it is better to die than to live ; but the propensities of nature are strong, her calls frequent and importunate, and few but have, or think they have, some interest to some social connexions or other, not easily to be dispensed with.—Admonished by these, but most by the generous concern, I know you bear for humanity, however distressed, and wherever situated, I venture to ask, and that with reluctance enough, that you would charitably interceed for something, how and to whom you think proper, whereby to render the remains of being a little more supportable, a little less uneasy, if you conceive it not inconsistent with your convenience and character, to serve

Your most humble servant,

E. ARAM,

AUGUST 27th, 1758.

Mr Collins shewed the above to some friends, when five pounds was collected and sent to him.

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## LETTER II.

SIR,

THE very humble opinion I ever entertained of anything I wrought, prevented me retaining any



copies. There remains an elegy on Sir John Ar-  
mytage, who fell at St. Cas: if I can possibly  
recover it, it shall come accompanied with a tran-  
script of some of the papers you procured, and the  
rest shall follow as speedily as I can write them,  
which indeed if you had not had the curiosity to  
desire, I could not have had the assurance to offer.  
Scarce believing I, who was hardly taught to read,  
have any abilities to write. I am, Sir,

With much gratitude for your kindness,

And with all possible respect,

Your most humble, most obliged servant,

E. ARAM,

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### LETTER III.

SIR,

YORK, *June 2, 1759.*

TO satisfy my promise and your request, I have  
transcribed part of the papers, and propose copying,  
and transmitting to you the remainder of them next  
week, or as early as I can. I am only able to em-  
ploy half of my time in this, but wish I could  
dispose of all my time that way, either for your  
amusement or your service.—I have no materials  
for my purpose by me: not so much as book, pa-  
per, or M S. of any kind; so that it is easy  
to conceive under what disadvantages I write.  
Memory is all I have to trust to; and that cannot  
be capacious of all I want.

You were pleased to promise me some assistance in my affair : in hopes of which, I have subjoined the only question,\* I think of any importance to me, and beg satisfaction in it, by what way you judge best. I am, sir, (under great obligations, and with all possible respect)

Your most obedient, and most humble servant,

E. ARAM.

\* Q. Whether Houseman, who, after his being apprehended and in custody, and commitment upon a charge of murder, accused me of that fact, can possibly be admitted evidence for the king against me, as he says his counsel tells him he may : the fact with which he impeaches me being fourteen years ago, and there being nothing against me but what he pretends to say ? Whether is the power of admitting evidence for the king, invested in the judge, or king's counsel, or both ?

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#### LETTER IV.

SIR,

I THANK you much for your kind concern for me : and which you have expressed so well. Mr. Wharton begged my defence of yesterday, and there is no other but that, which only is genuine. If you think it will be either pleasure or advantage to you, I will, upon the least intimation, speak to Mr. Wharton that he suffer you to copy it. As to my life, it is of no importance to the public, nor would it be of service to any body ; nor does any one know much about it. Nor, if it was material to write it have I time ? But, I am certain it was

spent much more commendably than that of any one of my enemies.

I have three books of your's, and thank you for the amusement some of them have afforded me; and wish you could send for them, it not being in my power to get them to you. Yet, Sir, if any general particulars of my life will oblige you, you have nothing to do but let me know.

I am, with great respect, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

SATURDAY, 10 o'Clock.

E. ARAM.

AUGUST 4th, 1759.

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### LETTER V.

SIR,

I HAD both your favours, for which I thank you: you have enclosed what I thought proper to say, concerning myself, family, and affair. I promised it to the Rev. Mr. Collins. If you choose to order any of your people to transcribe it, you may keep this, and I will subscribe my name to such transcript. Do which you please. I thank you again and again. I write in great haste, as I doubt appears, but you will pardon inaccuracies. I should be very glad to see you to-morrow, if it can be allowed: and am

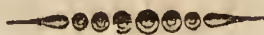
Your most obliged humble servant,

E. ARAM.

AUGUST 4th, 1759.



AN  
ESSAY  
TOWARDS  
A LEXICON,  
Upon an entirely new plan



TO attempt the work of a lexicon, and at a time too, when so many, and those so considerable, have already appeared, valuable for the excellence of their composition, and respectable for the authority of their authors, may possibly be looked upon as an unnecessary, if not altogether a super-numerary labour.—How far such an opinion may be just, or premature, will be better elucidated by a very cursory perusal of, and a little deliberation upon the subsequent plan. And this, whatever appearances of novelty it may be attended with, however strongly the current of general opinion opposes it, is neither so recent, nor so foreign to the service of letters, as by some may be imagined.

Before I open the plan I have to offer to the literati, and upon which the superstructure is intended to be built, it perhaps may not be improper in this place, to throw out *a few preliminary*

*reflections*, which have occurred to me in the course of my reading, a part of which are these that follow.

All our lexicographers, (a very few excepted, for aught I have adverted to,) have been long employed, and have generally contented themselves too, within the limits of a very narrow field. They seem to have looked no farther than facilitating for youth the attainment of the Latin and Greek Languages, and almost universally consider the *former* as only derived from the *latter*. These two single points seem to have confined their whole view, possessed their whole attention, and engrossed all their industry.

Here and there, indeed, and in a few pieces of this kind, one sees interspersed, derivations of the English from the Latin, Greek, &c, inferred from a conformity of orthography, sound, and signification, and all these are very true. But, *whence* this relation, this consonancy arose,—why has it continued from age to age to us,—has floated on the stream of time so long, and passed to such a distance of place,—how ancient words have survived conquests, the migrations of people, and the several coalitions of nations and colonies, notwithstanding the fluctuating condition of language in it's own nature,—they have neither observed with diligence, nor explained with accuracy.

Almost every etymologist that has fallen into my hands, and detained my eye, has not either been mistaken then in the comparisons he has

made, or in the uniformity he has observed, between the Latin and the Greek, and between both those languages and our own; but then, his instances have been but short and few, and they have failed in accounting for this uniformity; they have indeed sufficiently evinced a similarity, but produced no reason for it. It is not to be thought of, much less concluded, that the multitude of words among us, which are certainly Latin, Greek, and Phœnician, are all the relicts of the Roman settlements in Britain, or the effects of Greek or Phœnician commerce here; no, this resemblance was coeval with the primary inhabitants of this island; and the accession of other colonies did not obliterate, but confirm this resemblance, and also brought in an increase, an accession of other words, from the same original, and consequently bearing the same conformity. How nearly related is the Cambrian, how nearly the Irish, in numberless instances, to the Latin, the Greek, and even Hebrew, and both possessed this consimilarity long ago, before Julius Cæsar, and the Roman invasion. I know not but the Latin was more different from itself, in the succession of six continued centuries, than the Welsh and Irish, at this time, from the Latin. Concerning this agreement of theirs with the Latin, Greek, Hebrew,—not to mention others, gentlemen of great penetration, and extraordinary erudition,—Dr. Davies,\* may be consulted, and

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\* John Davies, D. D. a learned Welch Divine.



the learned Sheringham,\* who have both exhibited a long and curious specimen of Greek and Cambrian words, so exactly correspondent in sound and sense, or at least so visibly near, that, as far as I know, no gentleman has ever yet questioned, much less disputed their alliance.

This similitude subsisting in common among the Irish, Cambrian, Greek, Latin, and even Hebrew, as it has not escaped the notice, and animadversions of the learned, so their surprise has generally increased with their researches, and considerations about it; new circumstances of agreement perpetually arising. A great many gentlemen conversant in antiquities, and pleased with literary amusements of this kind, have ascribed these palpable connexions either to conquest, or to commerce: They have supposed, that the intercourse which, on the latter account, anciently subsisted between the Phœnicians, Greeks, and the Britons, (see Bochart,† Huet.‡ &c.) occasioned this very remarkable community between their languages. Indeed this accident of commerce must needs have had it's influence, but then this influence

\* Robert Sheringham was born in Norfolk, in 1602; was educated at Cambridge, and was Fellow of Gonville and Cains College in that University. He was exiled for the cause of Charles I. during the power of Oliver Cromwell.

† Samuel Bochart, a French Protestant, and a learned Etymologist, was born at Rouen, in 1599.

‡ Peter Daniel Huet, one of the most accomplished scholars of his time, was born at Caen, in Normandy, in 1630, and died in 1721.

must have been but weak and partial, not prevalent and extensive. Commerce has made, and always will make continual additions to any language, by the introduction of exotic words; yet, words of this kind, and at that time would hardly extend a great way; they would only affect the maritime parts, and those places frequented by traders, and that but feebly, and would be very far from acting or making any considerable impression upon the whole body of any language.

But, even supposing that a number of Greek vocables may have found admittance and adoption in Britain, and after this manner; yet, they could never penetrate into the interior parts of it, into recesses remote from the sea; the inhabitants being strangers to all correspondence, without the temptation, without the inclination to leave their natal soil, their own hereditary village, yet is Greek even here; we find pure Greek in the peak itself, whither foreigners, especially at the distance of more than twice ten centuries, can scarcely be supposed to have come. There could have been but few invitations to it then, and perhaps there are not many now.

Since, then, I have taken notice of this almost community of language, observable between the Greek and the Celtic, in some dialect of it or other; and have attempted to show it could scarcely be imported, in the manner so generally believed, it seems incumbent upon me to offer a more pro-

bable conjecture,—if it is a conjecture,—how it has taken place, which is the subject of the following dissertation.

AFTER what has been produced as prefatory, it is now time, if it may not be thought it was so before, to exhibit the plan I mentioned, not attempted in confidence of my own, but to excite superior abilities to think farther, and for the farther illustration and service of letters, and submitted with the greatest deference to the learned, and with extreme diffidence to myself.

It is then this—That the ancient Celtæ, by the numberless vestiges left behind them, in Gaul, Britain, Greece, and all the western parts of Europe, appears to have been, if not the aborigines, at least their successors, and masters, in Gaul, Britain, and the West;—that their language, however obsolete, however mutilated, is, at this day, discernible in all those places which that victorious people conquered and retained:—that it has extended itself far and wide, visibly appearing in the ancient Greek, Latin, and English, of all which it included a very considerable part, and, indeed, it still unquestionably, forms an important ingredient in all the languages of Europe;—it emerges in the names of springs, torrents, rivers, woods, hills, plains, lakes, seas, mountains, towns, cities, and innumerable other local appellatives of antiquity, many of which have never, that I know of, been accounted for:—that it is still partially considered as a language, in some of it's dialects, in the declining



remains of it, still dispersed among the Irish, in Armorica or Basse—Britagne, in St. Kilda, in Cantabria or Biscay, and the mountains of Wales:—that much of it is still extant in the works of our earlier poets and historians; and much is yet living upon the tongues of multitudes *inter rura Brigantum*, in Cumberland, &c. unknown or unobserved, as, I hope, the succeeding exercises will make apparent:—that the original of both the Latin and the Greek is, in a great measure, Celtic;—that same Celtic, which, polished by Greece, and refined by Rome,—only with dialectic variation,—flowed from the lips of *Virgil*, and thundered from the mouth of *Homer*.

The design, then, of all this, is to exhibit and illustrate these connexions.

AFTER having proceeded thus far, and so often reiterated *Celtæ* and *Celtic*, it is high time to come to an explanation of these words, and enumerate the people to whom they have been usually applied. The *Celtæ*, then, were confessedly *Scythians* or *Tartars*, the posterity of *Gomer*, the grandson of Noah;\* and, agreeably to the name of their patriarch, called themselves, in their own language, *Cimmeri*, *Cummeri*, or contractedly *Cimbri*; and the Welsh, to this day, call themselves *Cum-meri*, whence Cumberland, pointing out very lu-

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\* See DAVIES' Celtic researches, 8vo.

cidly their extraction by their name.—But, what becomes of *Celtæ* in all this? And why were these Cimmeri denominated *Celtæ*? As they were Tartars or Scythians, and both their name, country, and original at first unknown; and, it being observed, by the people they invaded, that they were all or mostly horsemen, and of great celerity, the Greeks, almost the only historians of the early ages, very naturally distinguished these *Cimmerians* or *Gomerians* by the name of *Keletes*, *Celtæ*, i. e. *light horsemen*. They made several very terrible irruptions into the fairest parts of Asia, and thence into Europe, and back again, like a retiring tide, under the conduct of Brennus, to the number of 150,000. Callimachus relates, that the original of the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, was owing to a little statue of that *Goddess*, which these *Cimmerians* erected in the hollow of a tree, while their armies and depredations, under Ligdamis their captain, wasted Asia. Their migrations were frequent and noted: For, obliged by real or imaginary necessity, incited by avarice, or stimulated only by a spirit of war, they became often vexatious to one another, and always formidable to their neighbours. They also, in another prodigious swarm, poured out of Tartary, about 950 years after the flood; and made another dreadful irruption, under *Alcon*, their leader, into the greater *Arminia*, and in a little space made themselves masters of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Phrygia*, and the greater part of the *Lesser Asia*, where, as in several other countries,

continued a great many memorials of their name and conquests. But Phrygia seems to have been their principal residence, and there they have been most distinguished.

They had various appellations imposed upon them, as Gigantes, and Titanes, both signifying sprung from the earth: in this, referring to the obscurity of their origin. Of this eminent people was *Saturn*, he himself was a *Cimmerian*, and passed, one may believe, not unattended into Italy, upon some disagreement with *Jupiter*, his son. The body of these *Cimmerians* or *Celtæ*, which is but an adventitious name, the time not ascertained, proceeded far into Europe, even into *Britain*, and it's *islands*, &c. And, that the name of *Cimmeri* or *Cimori*, was also remembered in Gaul, as well as in Britain, is clear; for the soldier who was sent for the execution of *Caius Marius*,\* the consul, is, by some historians, called a *Gaul*, by others a *Cimber*, which two names, as is evident from hence, were esteemed synonymous, and indifferently applied to the same person.—There is also the Cimbric—Chersonese, &c.† but these *Cimmerians* scarcely advanced together, and at once, but gradually, and time after time, established their settlements, where and as they could, Their

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\* See Plutarch.

† Jutland in Denmark.



government was the oldest known, i. e., it was *patriarchal*:—and so it remained in Scotland till within our memories. Afterwards, there was an absolute coalition, in many nations of this people and their language, with those they conquered, and with the colonies from *Greece, Tyre, Carthage, &c.* and their's, and all of them, a while after this incorporation, are found in history under the common name of *Celtæ*. The very same accident happened between the *Saxons* and the *Britons*; and also between the *Scots* and *Picts* in the *North*. It can scarcely be imagined that the *Saxons* destroyed all the *Britons* that escaped not into *Wales*; or, that the *Scots* extinguished all the race of the *Picts*, that did not cross the seas. No; 'tis unlikely; 'tis impossible; these two nations united with the two subdued, and became one people, under the name of the most predominant. So it was with the *Celtæ*, when one of themselves, or upon their incorporation with the conquered, they became populous and powerful, especially in *Greece*, their principal seat. Colony peopled colony still farther and farther, till they with the language they brought along with them from the east and *Greece, &c.*, arrived in and about *Britain*, and whither else we can fix no bounds; as waves departing from one centre, swell with a wider and a wider circumference, wave impelling wave, till at last these circles disappear.

The Greeks, the posterity of *Javan*, as is generally allowed, and as is plain from their name *Jaon*,

and historical evidence, and by the connexions their language has with the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician*, &c., arrived at first from Asia, and colony after colony peopled Peloponnesus, the islands of the Archipelago, and those of the Mediterranean, and there continued, with no considerable variation of language, but what was naturally made by time, and what is incident to all, till this inundation of these *Cimmerians*, which they called *Celtæ*. Particular appellations, indeed, were annexed to their tribes, but from this difference of names in those tribes, we must not suspect them to be of different extraction; by no means, they were all but portions of the same vast body. Their dominions, after their union with the original *Greeks*, became very extensive; and, all the north-west parts of Europe were from them, called, by the Greeks, *Celto-Scythia*.

*Bodin*,\* 'tis true, has affirmed that the name of *Celtica* was peculiar to *Gaul*; but he is a writer of very inconsiderable authority, and is learnedly confuted by *Cluverius*,† who, I think, in the fourth

\* *John Bodin*, a native of Angers, died 1596. He was a man of some repute in *France*, and author of several publications; probably the one alluded to here is his "*Methodus ad facilem Historiarum cognitionem*," Paris. 1566, 4to.

† Philip Cluver, an eminent Geographer, and author of *Germania Antiqua*, folio, Leyden, 1616; *Sicilia Antiqua Sardinia et Corsica* folio, Leyden, 1619; *Italia Antiqua*, 2 vols. folio, Leyden, 1624; and *Introductio in Universam Geographiam, tam veterem quam novam*, &c. He died in 1623, at Leyden.

chapter of his *Germania Antiqua*, shows *Celtica* included *Illyricum*, Germany, Gaul, Spain, and Britain: and, Mr. Irvine,\* a Scots Gentleman of great abilities, asserts, that the colonies of the *Celtæ* also covered *Italy*, the *Alps*, *Thessaly*, &c., and all this I am induced to believe may be satisfactorily proved, if by nothing else, yet by the very great consimilarity in their languages, when carefully considered in comparison with one another, especially in many old local appellatives, which have certainly existed before commerce or intercourse could possibly be concerned in imposing them. But, because I am unwilling to convert what was only meant as prefatory, into a lexicon, I must supersede the proofs of this, or what I take to be such, till I come to treat of the words themselves. Should this be doubted or contested, and any objections, and those not apparently immaterial, arise, or be imagined to arise, in opposition to any particular that has been advanced, I humbly apprehend that an accurate examination into this plan, will never contradict, but support every observation contained in these papers. But what will appear most decisive upon this head, is, that unquestionable remains of their language exist at this day, in countries where their name is entirely forgotten; and, what is yet more convincing, though probably

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\* Dr. Christopher Irvine, a learned Scotsman, published *Index locorum, nominum propriorum gentilitium, vocumque difficiliorum, quæ in Latinis Scotorum Historiis occurrunt*, 8vo. Edinburgh, 1661.



unsuspected, is, that a very great number of topical names, &c., are continually occurring where the *Celtæ* have penetrated, and been established from time immemorial, as in the English, the Latin, and the Greek, &c., which can never be investigated from any other original.

Add to this, that wherever history fails in accounting for the extraction of any people, or where it is manifestly mistaken, how can this extraction be more rationally inferred and determined, or that mistake rectified, than from the analogy of languages? Or is not this alone sufficiently conclusive, if nothing else was left? Thus Cæsar, so conspicuous for either Minerva, and whose opinions will ever have their proper weight with the learned, asserts that the Britons were from Gaul, not so much from their vicinity to one another, as from the remarkable analogy of their tongue to the gallic. And admit there was not a record left in the world, to prove the original of our American settlements, I would ask, if their language itself, notwithstanding many words both now, and formerly unknown in England, and adopted into it, was not sufficient to prove it? And must not a similitude as near, considering the very great distance of time, an extensive commerce, the admission of new colonies, the revolutions of kingdoms, and the natural inconstancy of languages, equally prove an alliance among those in question? The traces of the Celtic, notwithstanding the ruins consequent upon all these, have hitherto remained

indelible. They almost perpetually arise in the general Geography of all the west of Europe ; and often in more confined and topographical descriptions. Not a county in Britain, scarcely any extent of sea, or land from Kent to St. Kilda, wherein the most satisfactory evidences of this may not be found. The same congruity holds too in Gaul, Spain, Italy, &c. and a work of this kind, begun with circumspection, and conducted with regularity, could not fail of throwing great light upon all the languages concerned, and upon the obscurity of thousands of local names, and in short seems to promise fair to contribute as a lamp, to the elucidation of many dark antiquities.

The Greek and Hebrew, then, &c., observable in our language, and not unnoticed by the learned, and found in recesses, where they might be but little expected, as will be shown in the course of these remarks, were not imported by the Phœnician merchants, and Greek traders only, but entered along with the earliest colonies from the east, into Britain ; after each colony had protruded other through all the intermediate continent, of which Britain probably was once a part. Not that the whole of a people entered into any long migration ; I believe never. The aged, the infirm, and the youth of either sex, incapable of engaging in war, or of enduring the fatigues of travel, or surmounting the opposition of mountains, forests, and rivers, remained a feeble company behind ; and certainly retained the same language their itinerant

countrymen had carried with them, which sometimes was very far remote. Hence an almost identity of languages is sometimes found in places at a great distance from each other; and hence that agreement in many vocables between the Greek and the Cambrian, and Irish Celtic.—Nor is there so much inconsistence, as has been insinuated, that immemorial tradition existent among the Welch, that they were the descendants of the Greeks. That they came with Brutus, is not only fabulous but ridiculous; but, that they are of Greek extraction, perhaps is neither. The tradition is undoubtedly false, with regard to the person, Brutus; but certainly real as to the thing,—this Greek extraction. It may be objected indeed, that this is only tradition; what else could it possibly be?—Could they have history, annals, and inscriptions, before they had letters?—Was there not also a period wherein Greece herself, afterwards so illustrious for arts, was destitute and ignorant of these?—Could these then be expected in Britain, so far detached from the sources from whence Greece drew all her science? No: Memory, or some rugged uninscribed stone, in these obscure and early ages, was the sole register of facts, and tradition all their history.

In the subsequent specimens I have been very prolix; but, as the subject had been unattempted before, and seemed so repugnant to the general opinion, I supposed there was really some necessity for enlargement, that the connexions I had



intimated might appear the more visible and striking, and leave the less uncertainty upon the mind. And I humbly conceive, that the congruity among the languages adduced here, is made as obvious as the nature of the thing is capable of, particularly regarding this distance of time, this mutation of kingdoms, times, and manners, and under such abilities as mine. I cannot but beg pardon for some little oriental introductions in the word *Beer* ; I would very gladly have superseded them, had I not believed it preferable to refer to the original, and to produce the evidences together and at once, that they might possess the force of union. I am lead to think, that very little deliberation upon this subject, will be required to perceive the utility of it; and but a small acquaintance with languages, to be sensible of the pertinence of the comparisons. I imagine too, that, to a moderate portion of letters and sagacity, it will soon be clear, that the Greek, the Latin, and the Celtic, considered and compared together, will abundantly dilucidate one another. And, perhaps the examples to be hereafter produced in support of this plan, will better evince the reasonableness of it, than whole reams employed in arguments.

## EXAMPLES.\*

### BEAGLES.

A race of hounds, so named for being little: a name perfectly agreeable to the primary signification of the Celtic *pig*, i. e. *little*. The Greeks anciently used this word too, and in the sense of *little*, of which they appear to have constituted their *pugmaios*, i. e. *a dwarf*. It still subsists among the Irish, and still in that language conveys the idea of *little*; as *Fir-pig*, *a little man*; *Bang-pig*, *a little woman*; *Beg-aglach*, *little fearing*. It was also common in Scotland, in the same acceptation: for one of the Hebrides is named from this cubital people, *Dunie-Beg*, i. e. *a little hill*, (see Mr. Irvin) and it yet exists in Scotland in the word *phillibeg*, i. e. *a little petticoat*. And we ourselves retain it in the provincial word *peagles*, i. e. *cowslips*, a name imposed upon them of old, from the littleness of their flowers. And our northern word *Peggy*, is properly speaking applicable to no female, as a christian name, but is merely an epithet of size and a word of endearment only.

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\* These examples are, as much as possible from the Irish, I industriously omitting the *British*, lest it should be thought, as I know it has been sometimes, that the *Romans* left us the words that bear any relation to the Latin, while this can never be objected to the Irish, since the Romans never set a foot in Ireland. Pardon inaccuracies too, since I have had no assistance but from memory,—E. A.

## NID.

Nothing seems more suitable than this Celtic name for this river ; which, after running a considerable way from it's fountain, again enters the earth, by a wide and rocky cavern ; then taking a subterraneous course of some miles, again emerges to the light, by two issues, whose waters are immediately united below. This word *Nid*, among the Celtæ signified *under, below, or covered* ; and so it does yet. The Irish Celtæ say *Neth-Shin*, i. e., under a place ; *Nes-sene*, i. e., a bird's nest ; (and *nead*, a nest simply,) where *t* is converted into *s*, as is common : so the Greek has *glotta* or *glossa* ; and so the Germans of their ancient *wasser*, have made *watter*, i. e. *water*. This word *Nid*, is very widely diffused too ; there is found *Nith-isdale* or *Nidd-isdale*, in Scotland ; *Nid*, near Knaresbrough, the seat of B. Rawson, Esquire ; both probably named from their having been formerly hid in the depth and obscurity of woods. *Nidum* is also found in Glamorganshire ; there are the rivers *Niderus*, in Norway, and *Nid* even in Poland, and *Nid* appears too as a river in Greece. The Grecian *Neda* rises in Arcadia, and runs into the Sinus-Cyparisseus. It is part of the modern words, *be-neath*, *ne-ther*, and *Ne-ther-lands*. This *neath* was formerly written *nead* ; for an epitaph, transcribed from a monumental stone at Kirklees, by Dr. Gale, has,

“*Undernead this little steane,*”

Where the former part of the word, under, is



only explicatory of the latter part *nead*. This signification of *Nid*, leads to the true and original meaning of Shakspeare's *niding*, i. e., *a person that hides himself*; Mr. Johnson, interprets it a *coward*, but that is only it's *secondary* signification, and but true sometimes, for a person does not always hide himself through fear. It appears to be the *radical* of the Latin *Nidus*, *nidifico*, *nidulor*, *nidificatio*, and also of the Greek *neossos*, in the Attic *neottos*, *pullus avium*, &c. which all know to be very well *hidden*; and, they bore this Greek name, not because they were *young*, but because they were *hidden*. So *neossia* or *neottia*; *nidus*, &c. whence our word *nests*.

## VIR.

This word is, and that precisely enough, the Celtic *fir*; it's very great antiquity and use with the Celtæ, appears in the Irish regal proper name, Fergus I. Fergus II. in our modern surname. Ferguson; also in the words *Firbolgs*, (i. e., *vir Belgici*) by which the old Irish are called a colony of the *Belgæ*, which settled amongst them. And of this word *Bolgs*, Cæsar, and the Romans, formed the Latin *Belgæ*; which, indeed, imports the same, and is the same word with the Greek *Pelagoc*, either from their coming by sea, or from their vicinity to it. *Fir*, in most words, into whose composition it enters, implies something of *ability* and *strength*, as in the Irish *fertamhuill*

i. e., a man of an able body; and in the Latin, *fortis, virtus, &c.* Neither was it unfrequent in Gaul; it composes a part of Cæsar's *Vercingetorix, Viridomarus, &c.* (Cæs. Com. lib. 7. cap. 3, &c.) The German Celtæ likewise used it, for it exists yet with them in the compound word *Were-wolf*, i. e. *man-wolf*. This *wer*, in the Latin sense of *vir*, appears also among the Anglo-Saxons; for in the Saxon Pentateuch of Ælfric the monk, published at Oxford, is, "And God made them *paep-man, wær-man*, i. e. male, &c. (Gen. 1. 26.) The word *man, homo*, anciently, as in our modern translation of this place, included both sexes, and the Saxons prefixed *paep, wær* to *man*, to determine the male sex, and *wyf* to determine the female sex; hence they wrote *wyf-man*, which by contraction became *wy-man*, now softened down to *wo-man*.

### MAGISTER.

How natural, easy, and lucid does it's original appear from the Celtic *maighis*, whence the Latin *magnus* and Greek *megas*, great, and *tor, dominus*, nor has the first of these entirely left us; it remains in the northern obsolete word *mickle*, much or great, as in *Mickle-gate*, a large street in York.\* And *meg*, in many places, is yet commonly heard, and ever ludicrously applied to a *very tall woman*;

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\* From the Saxon *micla*, or *micel*, great; or from the Danish, *mikel*, or *mokell*, great.

it is, also, used for a *huge stone* in an erect position. Mr. Cambden, I think, in Cumberland, takes notice of a tall upright stone there, called *Long Meg*. There is also another high and upright stone near Sawley, in our own County, distinguished by this name. And the great cannon in Scotland, taken at Mons, the Scots call *Mons-Meg*. It seems a radical used in common, by many of the Celtic nations, each agreeable to it's dialect, and *Tor*, is the Greek and Latin *turannos*, and *tyrannus*.

### BEER.

This word has been one general oriental name for a *well* or *water*, and very probably has been transmitted, along with the earliest settlements, into Europe. It is still found in this island, both in it's primary and translated signification; i. e., for *water*, and for *beer*. It is read Gen. xxix, 2, &c. *Va yare ve hinneh beer*; and in the Chaldee, *Va chaza ve ha bera*; i. e., "*He looked, and behold a well.*" Water was the first beverage of mankind, and was, as was undoubtedly natural, applied to other drinkables, as they were invented. The great simplicity of ancient languages, and times, not directly affording any other than *beer*. So we apply the word *wine*, once, perhaps, peculiar to the juice of the grape, to liquids extracted from many other fruits, as *goose-berries*, *elder-berries*, &c. And here, though the copiousness of modern



languages distinguishes these, which the poverty of the ancient did not, or not early, yet they retain the name of *wine* still. Hence *beer*, though originally a word for *water*, became expressive of some liquors drawn from *vegetables*, because they became, like *water*, a *beverage*, and *bir* is still used for *water* in some parts of Ireland. In the very same manner the Celtic *Isca*, or *Uisga*, originally signifying *water*, was imposed on other liquids: there being at first no other, whereby readily to express them, they were called *Isca, water*; so *whisky*, a liquor used in Scotland, is nothing else but a corruption of this ancient *Isca, water*; yet it is not simply *water*. *Isca*, too, is found in Ireland, in the word *usque-bagh*, to which time has super-added the epithet *bagh*, i. e., *strong*, making *strong water*, by way of distinction from *common water*.

*Beer* yet continues in its primary acceptation of a *rivulet* from a *spring*, or *water simply*, in the recesses of this country, but little frequented; and in Scotland for *water* itself. To these places colonies and conquests have carried but few innovations; for words annexed to things of such frequent use as *water*, *fire*, &c. heard mentioned every day for years, must necessarily have maintained their ground longer, and resisted the shocks of time better, than those but seldom used, and as seldom named. Hence, about Roxborough, it is usual to ask, “*have you any burn?*” i. e., *water simply*, meaning “*in the house:*” where *burn* is the

Hebrew *beer*, the final *n* only terminates the word after the taste and genius of the German, and alters nothing.

In Netherdale are two torrents, i. e., *Bierbeck*, and *Doubergill*, descending from the moors. In the first of these, the latter syllable *beck*, is only put as explanatory, and as the sense of the prior syllable *beer*, *water*, or a *rivulet*; it is the same in another torrent in Cumberland, near Longtown, called *Bierburn*, where *burn*, in like manner, explains *bier*. In *Doubergill*, the last syllable\* *gill*, an old Irish word for *water*, is only affixed to explain *ber*, the syllable immediately preceding it; and *dou*, in the Celtic, implies *black*, a colour proper to this torrent, and contracted from its passage through peat earth and morasses; the word *Dou-ber-gill*, then, in modern English, means *Black-water-gill*. And even so low as our times, this affixing a word, explaining the foregoing, continues; as *Hals-haugh-hill* at Ripon, *Mickle-haugh-hill* near that town, where *hill*, a more modern word, is only explanatory of *haught* or *how*, a more ancient one for the very same thing.

And to show that *ber*, *bier*, &c. is not confined to these retirements, no, nor to Britain, there is the *Ver*, a rivulet near *St. Albans*, of which the Romans formed their *Verulamium*: we have more streams possessed of this name also; as *Bierburn*,

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\* It is the Hebrew *gel*, i. e. *unda*, from the rolling and rapidity of most torrents; it remains in the English also.

near Longtown, running into the Esk. There is the *Var*, too, in France, the *Iberus*, in Spain, and the *Tiber*, in Italy, all including this *ber* in their names. Where, by the way *Ti*, in the Celtic did, and does at this day, in St. Kilda, signify *great*, and *ber*, is *water*, or a *river*: the whole then will be, the *great river*: a name that sufficiently distinguishes it there, as it is by far the greatest river in that part of Italy. I cannot particularly recollect whether *ber* for *water*, is in the British, but I suspect it is; however the Britons used *aber*, for the *mouth of a river*, except it may be thought the Latin *aperio*. But the *Irish* retain *ber* still, for *water*, as *Inbher-slainge*, a river by Wexford: *Inbher-domhnoin*, in Connacht, i. e., the deep river, *domhnoin*, importing *deep*. Neither is the Latin destitute of this *ber*, in the signification of *water* too, for this seems formed the Roman *imber*; and it is also the Greek *ombros*, i. e., *uetos*, which last is the modern English *wet*.

#### AN APPLE TREE, i. e., APPOLLO'S TREE.

But, it may at the first thought, what reference this can have to Apollo: this is yet to appear. This name in the Danish is, I think, *æble-traee*. The Saxon Pentateuch, before referred to, if I remember right, has *afel*, the Irish *abhal*, and the Welsh a consonant word, whose orthography I forget; and the Dutch, German, &c. are the same, or varied only by kindred letters.—Other original



of the name, though sought for, I have no where found ; I should have suspected it a translation of the Latin *malum*. But however it is certainly very ancient, as ancient as heathenism, and the worship of Apollo, from whom it was, though not always distinguished by this name. For it was once one of the symbols of that *God*, and dedicated to his *Deity* ; and hence, by this name, with some considerable variation in different countries, delivered down to us. The name was, probably, introduced here with the worship of Apollo, and by very early colonies, and continued it's name, when the custom that gave it rise was forgotten. And that this is it's original will be easily deducible from a little reflection on the proofs in support of it. The prizes in the sacred games of Apollo, were the *olive crown*, *apples*, *parsley*, and the *pine*. Lucian, in his book of *games*, affirms *apples* to have been *the reward* in the sacred games of Apollo. And Curtius, on gardens, asserts the same thing. it appears also that the apple tree was consecrated to Apollo before the *laurel* ; for both Pinder and Callimachus observes that Apollo put not on the *laurel*, till after his conquest of the Python ; and he first appropriated it to himself, on account of his passion for Daphne. The victor's wreath, at first, was a bough with it's apples hanging on it, sometimes along with it a branch of *laurel*, these antiquity united together in *the Pythian games*.

HAMILTON,

(*More properly Hamildun*) *hill*. A name of very

remote antiquity, and imposed upon several hills in this county, and it occurs too in several other places. I am not able to recollect precisely, if it remains in the *Welsh*; but if it does not, it is probable that it once existed in it. This name is derived, not from the *elevation* of these hills, but from *their figure to the eye*; which is, as far as I have had opportunity to remark, or inform myself, that of *half a globe*, with it's convexity upwards; which has a gradual descent, like them, from it's summit every way. Now, any hill or mountain of such a form, the *Irish*, to this time, called *himmel*, and, they imposed this name immediately from their resemblance to the appearance of the heavens, considered as to their convexity. And that they were considered thus is plain from Ovid's remark, "*Convexaque Cæli.*" And which from our zenith, seems to decline on every side, till terminated by the horizon. The Latins called heaven *cælum*, from *koilon*, i. e. *the hollow*, considering it as a *concave*. But the Teutonic, in *himmel* and *hemel* has looked upon them as a *covering*, and the  *Germans* yet call a *bed-tester himmel*, from it's covering the *bed*, and they call the heavens *himmel*, from their covering the earth. And that antiquity looked upon them as a covering is also evident, from "*Cælum quod omnia tegit.*" Ovid. This initial, *him* or *hem* in *hemmel*, is the old Saxon *helm*,\*

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\* If this Saxon HELM is not the hebrew SHELL. the skins of beasts, which were the ancient covering of mankind, I know not whence it is.—E. A.

only the liquid *l* is dropt, as with us in *talk*, *walk*, &c., first in pronunciation, as with us; afterwards in orthography, as with them. And this word *helm*, and all it's relations, ever imply covering; hence *helmit* to cover the head, *home* to cover the family, &c., and in the rura of this county, they commonly call a little shed, wherein are put instruments of husbandry, a *helm*. So *peasehame* and *house* regard the very same thing, implying *covering*; and so does a *sheep-cote*, a *cottage*, and coat our upper garment, which are from the British *coed*, a wood, the most ancient covering.

The final *el* in *himmel* is the radical of the Latin *altus*, just as the Celtic *ard*, high, is that of the Latin *ardus*.—*Himmel* then, signifies the *lofty covering*. The syllable *don* or *dun*, *mons* that concludes *Hamildun*, is so notorious, that it wants no illustration; hence the *downs*, in Kent, and the hills called *Baustead downs*, in Surry; and hence *Lugdunum-Battavorum*, &c. But here one may observe, that *Himmel* was not a name applied to hills, as to any covering, but only as they were thought to resemble the appearance of the sky, which is so.

The hills called *Hamilton*, that I am acquainted with, are that on which are the races near Gormire, that near Kirby-Malzeard; one near Tadcaster, and another towards Kendal.

#### EBORACUM.

If it is evident, as I conclude it is, that *Ber* or *Ver*, originally signifying water or a *well*, was after-



wards applied to the stream usually flowing from it, or a *river*, it seems to me to enter into the composition of *Eboracum*. *Bor* here really appears no more than the ancient *ber* or *bir*, so generally used among the Celtæ; and that the exility of sound in *e* or *i*, a Roman ear, or some peculiarity of dialect, might easily change into *o*. For the Romans, I believe, seldom, if ever, absolutely altered the ancient names of people, cities, rivers, places, &c., but often stripped them of some barbarities, smoothed their asperities, and gave them a more harmonious pronunciation. The initial letter *E*, is a Celtic article, and appears among the Celtæ, situated at a great distance from one another, with no material variation, as the *Iberus* in Spain, *Isurium* with us, &c.

The Brigantes were also called *Wicci*, from their being collected in little villages, and hence *wic* is a very usual termination in many of them. *Ac*, in *Eboracum*, seems nothing but the Celtic *uic*, *vic*, *wic*, or *vig*; which is the radix of the Latin *vicus*, *viculus*, &c. and not differenced but by the termination *us*; which means nothing. It is very like the Greek *pagos* also: for the people of the north have sometimes pronounced *p* as a *w*, which is a letter particular to the north. And formerly here, as among the Romans of old, the articulation, as well as orthography of *u* and *v*, was as little distinguished as observed. For the Romans said and writ either *sylvæ* or *syluæ*: and yet, in Surry, the populace never do, or scarcely can pronounce *v*,

but constantly substitute for it *u* or *w*, saying *uinegar* or *winegar*, for *vinegar*; pronouncing *v* as we do the Greek *uios*. The *wic* was so common among the Anglo-Saxons, that to multiply instances would be needless and tedious, and this was from very ancient usage; for, in the *Feroes*, so far detached from the continent, and who had maintained little or no commerce with strangers, we find *Boardeviigg*, *Joteviig*, *Qualviig*, &c. The first appropriation of *vig* or *vic*, seems to have been to places upon the sea shore, and banks of rivers, as in *Eboracum*, &c.; but in length of time, it became applicable to places near neither. *Wic* has spread far and wide; it occurs in Germany, and is met with in the Iberian *Vigo* too: and the Romans themselves used *c* and *g* either promiscuously or successively, as appears from the inscription upon the Dulan pillar,\* where in read *pucnando*, for *pugnando*. The final *um* is nothing but a termination suiting the genius of the Latin.




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\* Erected, to perpetuate the memory of a great naval victory, obtained by Caius Duilius, who was consul, in the year 260, before Christ.

THE  
**MEL-SUPPER;**  
 AND  
**SHOUTING THE CHURN.**



**T**HESE rural entertainments and usages were formerly more general all over England, than they are at present, being become, by time, necessity, or avarice, complex, confined and altered. They are commonly insisted upon by the reapers as customary things, and as a **part** of **their** due for the toils of harvest, and complied with by their masters, perhaps more through regard of interest, than of inclination. For, should they refuse them the pleasure of this much expected time, this festal night, the youth especially, of both sexes would decline serving him for the future, and employ their labours for others, who would promise them the rustic joys of the harvest-supper, mirth, and music, dance and song.

These feasts appear to be the relicts of pagan ceremonies, or of judaism, it is hard to say whether, and they carry in them more meaning, and are of far higher antiquity than is generally apprehended. It is true, the subject is more curious than important, and, I believe, altogether untouched; and as it seems to be little understood, has been as little adverted to. I do not remember it to have been so much as the subject of conversation. Let us make then a little excursion into this



field, for the same reason that men sometimes take a walk.

It's traces are discoverable at a very great distance of time from ours, nay, they seem as old as a sense of joy for the benefit of plentiful harvests, and human gratitude to the eternal Creator, for his munificence to men.

We hear it under various names in different counties, and often in the same county; as *mel-supper*, *churn-supper*, *harvest-supper*, *harvest-home*, *feast of ingathering*, &c. And perhaps, this feast had been long observed, and by different tribes of people, before it became preceptive with the jews. However, let that be as it will, the custom very lucidly appears from the following passages of the old Testament, *Exod. xxiii. 16. Ve chag haketser becure maosheka asher tizra bashadeh, i. e., "And the feast of harvest, the first fruits of thy labours, which thou hast sown in the field."* And it's institution as a sacred rite is commanded, *Levit. xxiii, 39, Beusaphkem eth tebueth harets tachaggueth chag Yehovah, i. e., "When ye have gathered in the fruit of the land, ye shall keep a feast to the Lord."*

The Jews then, as is evident from hence, celebrated the feast of harvest, and that by precept; and, though no vestiges of any such feast either are or can be produced before these, yet the *oblation of the primitiæ*, of which this feast was a consequence, is met with prior to this; for, (*Gen.*

vi, 3) we find, that *Cain miphere hadamah mincha la Jehovah*, i. e. "*Cain brought of the fruit of the ground, an offering to the Lord.*"

Yet this offering of the first fruits, it may well be supposed, was not peculiar to the Jews, either at the time of, or after it's establishment by their legislator, neither the feast in consequence of it. Many other nations, either in imitation of the Jews, as some imagine, or rather by tradition from their several patriarchs, observing the rite of offering their *drimitiæ*, and of solemnizing a festival after it, in religious acknowledgement of the blessing of harvest, though that acknowledgement was ignorantly misapplied, in being directed to a secondary, not the primary fountain of that benefit, namely to *Apollo* or the *Sun*.

For Callimachus affirms, that these *primitiæ* were sent by the people of every nation to the temple of *Apollo*, in *Delos*, the most distant that enjoy the happiness of corn and harvest, even by the *hyperboreans* in particular. Hymn to *Apollo*, *oi mentoi kalomeen te kai ieera dragmapa protoi astakeeon*, i. e. "*Bring the sacred sheafs, and the mystic offering.*"

Herodotus also mentions this annual custom of the *hyperboreans*, remarking, that those of *Delos* talk of *Ira endedena en kalamee puron ez psperboreon*, i. e., "*Holy things tied up in a sheaf of wheat, conveyed from the hyperborean.*" And the Jews, by command of their law, offered also a sheaf, (Lev. xxiii, 10) the original has, *Uket-*

sartem eth ketsirah va hacatem eth ormer reshith ketsircem el ha cohen, i. e., “*And shall reap the harvest thereof, then ye shall bring a sheaf the first fruits of your harvest unto the priest.*”

This is not introduced in proof of any feast observed by the people, who had harvests, but to show the universality of the custom of offering the *primitiæ*, which preceded this feast. But, yet it may be looked upon as equivalent to a proof; for, as the offering and the feast appear to have been always and intimately connected, in countries affording records, so it is more than probable, they were connected too in countries who had none, or none that ever survived to our times. An entertainment, and gait were still the concomitants of these rites, which, with the vulgar, one may pretty truly suppose, were esteemed the most acceptable and material part of them, and a great reason of their having subsisted through such a length of ages, when both the populace, and many of the learned to, have lost sight of the object to which they had been originally directed. This, among many other ceremonies of the heathen worship, became disused in some places, and retained in others, but still continued declining, after the promulgation of the gospel. In short, there seems great reason to conclude, that this feast of harvest, which was once sacred to *Apollo*, was constantly maintained, when a far less valuable circumstance, i. e., *shouting the churn*, is observed to this day



by the reapers, and from so old an æra ; for we read this acclamation, (Isa. xvi, 9.) *Ci al kitsich ve al kitserach ha yadid naphal*, i. e. “*For the shouting for thy supper fruits, and for thy harvest is fallen.*” And again, verse 10, *Ubaccramim lo yerunnan lo yirsa ha yadad kishcati lo*, i. e., “*And in the vineyard there shall be no singing, their shouting shall be no shouting.*”

Hence then, or from some of the Phœnician Colonies is our traditionary *shouting the churn*. But it seems these Orientals, shouted both for joy of their harvest of *grapes* and of *corn*, We have no quantity of the first to occasion so much of joy, as does our plenty of the last ; and I do not remember to have heard whether their vintages abroad are attended with this custom.

Bread, in loaves or in cakes, composed part of the Hebrew Offering, Levit. xxiii, 13, and a cake thrown upon the head of the victim, was also a part of the Greek Offering to *Apollo*, (see *Hom II a*) whose worship, with that of *Diana*, was formerly celebrated in Britain, where the May-pole yet continues one remain of it. This they adorned with garlands and flowers on May-day, to welcome the approach of *Apollo*, or the Sun, towards the north, and to signify that those flowers were the product of his presence and influence. But, upon the progress of christianity, as was before mentioned, *Apollo* lost his divinity again, and the adoration of his deity, subsided by degrees. Yet, so permanent is custom, that this rite of the har-

*vest-supper*, together with that of the *May-pole*, (of which last see Voss de orig et prog idolatr l. 2) have been hitherto preserved in Biritain; and what had been anciently offered to the God, the reapers as prudently partook of themselves.

At last, the meal of new corn was neglected, and the supper, so far as meal was concerned, was made indifferently, either of old, or new corn, as most agreeable to the founder.

And here, the usage itself accounts for the name of *mel-supper*, (where *mel* signifies *meal*, or else the instrument called with us a *mell*, wherewith the people of antiquity reduced their corn to meal, in a mortar, which still amounts to the same thing) for provisions of meal or of corn in firmity, &c. composed by far the greatest part in these elder and country entertainments, perfectly comfortable to the simplicity of ancient times, places, and persons, however meanly they may now be looked upon. And as the harvest was last concluded with several preparations of meal, or brought to be ready for the *mell*; this term became, in a translated signification, to mean the last of other things; as when a horse comes last in a race, they often say in the north, he has got the *mell*.

All the other names of this country-festivity sufficiently explain themselves, except *churn-supper*, and this is entirely different from *mel-supper*; but they generally happen so near together, that they are frequently confounded. The *churn-supper* was always provided when all was shorn, but the

*mel-supper* after all was got in. And it was called the *churn supper*, because, from time immemorial, it was customary to produce, in a churn, a great quantity of *cream*, and to circulate it by dishfuls to each of the rustic company, to be eaten with bread. And here sometimes very extraordinary execution has been done upon cream.

And, though this custom has been disused in many places, and agreeably commuted for by *ale*, yet it survives still, and that about Whitby and Scarborough, in the East, and round about Guisburn, &c., in Craven, in the West. But, perhaps, a century or two more, will put an end to it, and both the thing and name shall die. *Vicarious ale* is now more approved, and the *tankard* almost every where politely preferred to the *churn*.

This churn (in our provincial pronunciation *kern*) is the Hebrew *kern* or *kerin*, from its being circular like most *horns*; and, it is the Latin *corona*, named so either from its radii, resembling horns, as on some very *ancient coins*, or from its encircling the head; so a ring of people is called *corona*. It is also the Celtic *koren*, *keren*, or *korn*, which continues according to its old pronunciation in Cornwall, &c., and our modern word *horn* is no more than this; the ancient hard sound of *k* in *corn*, being softened into the aspirate *h*, as has been done in numberless instances. The Irish Celtæ also call a round stone clough *crene*, where the variation is merely *dialectic*. Hence our *crane berries*, i. e. *round berries*, from the Celtic adjective *crene*, round.



## AN ELEGY,

ON THE

*Death of Sir John Armytage,\* Bart.*

OF KIRKLEES, M. P. FOR THE CITY OF YORK,  
 Who died gloriously, in the service of his Country, Sept. 11th, 1758,  
 NEAR ST. CAS, ON THE COAST OF FRANCE,  
 IN THE 27th YEAR OF HIS AGE:

HUMBLY INSCRIBED

To the Remains of that ancient and respectable Family.

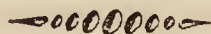
—000—

STRIKE, strike the bosom, touch the vocal string,  
 Bring funeral euge, the funeral cypress bring:  
 The strain be mournful; let the feet move slow:  
 The numbers ling'ring with their weight of woe.  
 Not with more grief great Maro's brest did swell,  
 When glorious, with his legions, Varus fell;  
 Not Troy felt more resentment, more of pain,  
 When Troy beheld her matchless Hector slain,  
 Than feels thy country. Tell us, was thy fate  
 Or more illustrious, or unfortunate?  
 Thy arms almost alone the foes impeach;  
 Thou stoodst like Scæva in the dangerous breach.  
 Slain, but not vanquish'd; fallen, but not fled;  
 That ground thou kept alive, thou kept when dead.  
 Hast thou obtained thy laurels with the poll?  
 Didst thou more bravely dare, or greatly fall?  
 Calder with sadder murmurs rolls her floods,  
 And deeper gloom invests thy Kirklees' woods.  
 France too, deplores thee little less than we,  
 And Britain's genius gave a sigh for thee.  
 What though no wife's, though no fond mother's eyes  
 Grow dim with grief, whose transports pierce the skies:  
 What, though no pomp, no pious dirge, no friend  
 Wait thee with tears, no solemn priest attend:  
 O! yet be happy—thy sad sisters here  
 Bewail thy loss with sorrows too sincere;  
 And falls in silence the fraternal tear.  
 Sleep, much lamented, while thy country pays,  
 Mingled with sighs, the tribute of her praise.  
 Suppress those sighs, and wipe the humid eye,  
 Her sons nor fall in vain, nor unreveng'd shall die.

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\* Gent. Mag 1758, p. p. 444 and 539.

When her loud thunders reach the hostile shore,  
 Swift as the winds, and like the billows roar;  
 What vigils must repentant Gallia keep?  
 What hostile eyes must close, what fair ones weep?  
 Remorseless war! how fatal to the brave!  
 Wild as rough seas, voracious as the grave!  
 Blind, when thou strikes; deaf, when distress complains;  
 What tears can whiten thy enpurpled stains?  
 Waste waits thy step, as southern breezes show'rs;  
 Like floods thou rages, and like floods devours.  
 Fear flies before thee—thou relentless hears  
 The virgin's pray'r, and sees the mother's tears.  
 Sink down, be chain'd, thrice execrable war,  
 Extinct thy torch, or flame from Britain far.  
 Breathe we where bliss in flowry vales is found;  
 Soft spring, glow near me; rural sweets be found;  
 Perennial waters, which the rock distils;  
 The shaded villa, and the sunny hills,  
 Long wandring shores, the voice of falling floods,  
 The gale of odours, and the night of woods.  
 These lost to thee, for these accept of fame,  
 Thy Kirklees smiles—she yet can boast the name:  
 Rank'd with the great thy fragrant name shall be;  
 Rome had her Decius, the BRIGANTES Thee.



Insonuere cavæ gemitumque dedere Cavernæ.—VIRG.

**F**OR these dread walls, sad sorrow's dark domain;  
 For cells resounding with the voice of pain,  
 Where fear, pale power, his dreary mansion keeps,  
 And grief, unpity'd, hangs her head and weeps;  
 What muse would leave her springs, and myrtle shades,  
 The groves of Pindus, And the Aonian glades?  
 The hallow'd pines that nod on Ida's brow,  
 And suns that spread eternal May below?  
 Or comes the Nymph, she soon averts her eyes,  
 And, but bestows one transient look, and flies,  
 In vain would I ascend—too weak my wings,  
 In vain the plectrom strikes the sleeping strings,  
 They wake no more;—the fire that blaz'd but glows;  
 The mute the lyre, and all are mute—but foes.  
 While my small bark, by sable tempests tost,  
 Lies wreck'd on an inhospitable coast;  
 Bleak rocks the place, and clouds the skies unfold,  
 Storms follow storms, and seas on seas are roll'd;

Yet, if the fates be kind, and you this lay,  
 Daughters of Isis,\* with a smile survey;  
 If, while you gild the moments as they rise,  
 Suppliant, I make your soft regards my prize;  
 Farewell! Pyrene, once so lov'd:—and you  
 Pierian sisters, tuneful maids, adieu!  
 For ever, I your feeble aid decline;  
 Come, lucid stars, fair northern lights, be mine:  
 Whose graces lull life's cares, whose wit removes;  
 Whose virtues charm me, and whose sense improves;  
 From you spring each sweet hope, each gleam of joy,  
 Each dearer name, and every social tie.  
 You, my bright subject, all to transport turns,  
 My breast with more than mortal ardour burns.

Rapt into years to come, the muse's eyes .  
 Behold your future sons illustrious rise!  
 Patriots and chiefs, renown'd for war and laws,  
 Warm in their country's, and in virtue's cause.  
 When time another crop of foes shall bear,  
 Another Thornton shall in arms appear;  
 Another Cumberland shall rise, and save;  
 His soul as honest, and his heart as brave.  
 Some Slingsby† curb against rebellious rage;  
 Some Ingilby‡ again his prince's ear engage.  
 Mahon once more shall British troops receive,  
 What Stanhope won, a Stanhope shall retrieve.  
 Some harp for Copgrove's hapless youth § be strung.  
 And Albion's rocks repeat what Deering || sung.  
 Some future bard, in Roundhills shall commend,  
 The breast humane, the scholar, and the friend.  
 Lambhill\*\* shall bid it's fadeless laurels grow,  
 To shade some Norton's, Garth's, or Plaxton's brow.  
 The sacred page some Walton shall review,  
 Some Wanley clear the runic line anew.

\* The Ouse, that runs through York.

† A gentleman of this family, in arms for the King, fell at Marston Moor.

‡ See Chauncer's Hertfordshire, in St. Alban's, where lies a worthy Baronet of this family

§ (Mr. Hodges, son of Henry Hodges, Esq. of Copgrove,) a young gentleman of great abilities, of great hopes, and once my friend, who died in the expedition to Cathergena, under Admiral Vernon, in 1741.

|| Dr. Heneage Deering, Dean of Ripon, attempted a history of the City of York, in Latin verse, which was scarcely carried through the Roman times. Dr. Deering died in 1750.

\*\* Near Masham, a seat of the old and worthy family of the Beckwiths,



The trumpet's sound shall die, and discord cease,  
 Thou, Britain, flourish, in the arts of peace;  
 Fairest of ocean's daughter's, and his pride,  
 Safe in thy oaks, with Neptune on thy side;  
 Who, fond to bless thee, with his Thames has crown'd,  
 And, pleas'd to guard thee, pours his seas around;  
 The wounds of war thy commerce soon shall cure,  
 That peace thy fleets command, thy Pitt assure.

Come, gentle peace! propitious Goddess, come,  
 Thy olive bring.—Let all, but mirth, be dumb.  
 What blessings reach us which thou dost not give?  
 Thou fled, is it to suffer or to live?  
 Thy sweet recess, thy happy ports to gain,  
 Plough'd is the verdant, plough'd the wat'ry plain.  
 For thee, this swelters under Lybia's suns;  
 That sails and shivers where the Volga runs.  
 To thy soft arms through death itself we flee,  
 Battles and camps, and fields, and victory,  
 Are but the rugged steps that lead to thee.

For the kind showers distil, the meads to cheer,  
 Or bend in old Isurium's fields\* the ear;  
 For the streams make gay the banks they lave;  
 The soft breeze whispers, and the green woods wave.

All these I see, as sailors see the shore,  
 And sing, secluded, scenes I tread no more.  
 Nor stars, nor cheerful suns, I now behold,  
 Languid with want, and pale with polar cold.

Where smiles Elysium?—where those happier skies,  
 Where after death superior virtue flies?—  
 Where wrongs, nor night, nor torments they deplore,  
 The sigh forgotten, and the tear no more.  
 What passage to the blissful meadows guides?—  
 What horrors guard it? or, what covert hides?

Thus to the Getæ, in a barbarous throng,  
 The last sad numbers flow'd from Naso's tongue.  
 The thracian thus, whose harp bewail'd his wife,  
 Torn by the mad Bacchantes, lost his life;  
 The strains that hell had pleas'd, they disregard;  
 And snatch'd the life, that softer pluto spar'd.

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\* Aldborough near Boroughbridge.

FINIS.

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Langdale, Printer, Knaresbrough.